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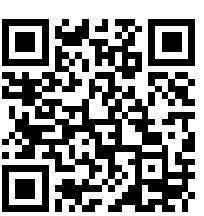

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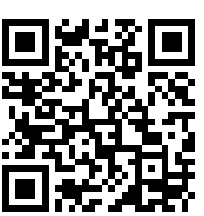

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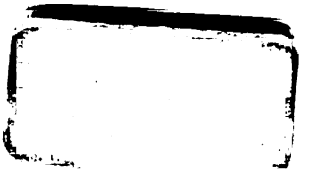

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TRANSACTIONS

AND

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

EDITED BY

JOSEPH WILLIAM HEWITT

SECRETARY OF THE ASSOCIATION

VOLUME LIX

1928

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

1928

I.—*Vocis Flexus, Modulatio, and Plasma in Latin Phonology*

MARK HARVEY LIDDELL

PURDUE UNIVERSITY

We are not apt to think of Plato as a physicist, but unhesitatingly ascribe to Aristotle a peculiar excellence in this kind, though one might reasonably suspect that the pupil's eminence owed something to the master. When, however, we consider the Platonic system as a whole, which we rarely do, it becomes apparent that it rests upon a foundation of physics rather than metaphysics; for its fundamental concept is that of a space filled with magnitudes that are finite and commensurable (*μέγα καὶ μικρόν*) constituting a *πέρας* (*Phil.* 25A) that, however great or small, is nevertheless quite different from *τὸ ἄπειρον*, the infinite.

The fundamental principle by which Plato relates his noumena to his phenomena, and thus mediates his psychology, is also fundamentally physical, viz., the *ἀρχὴ κινήσεως* (*Tim.* 30A). For the "soul of man is in its nature homogeneous with the soul of the world from which it takes its origin," and its *ἀρχή* is likewise *κίνησις*, or Motion (*Tim.* 30A, 41D, 69C).

If we thus reduce Plato's system to its fundamental concepts of Space and Motion, we have the only conceptual framework that is adequate to contain our most recent physical discoveries—discoveries which make impossible our traditional concept of *matter* as ultimate qualitatively differentiated entities, and leave us nothing but the Platonic Space-Motion

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relativity. For Plato's Matter is "not mass filling space, but Space itself. . . . He never mentions it as that out of which, but only that in which, things arise." [1] Things arise in Plato's Space through the operation of his first principle of Motion (ἀρχὴ κινήσεως), and assume shapes which are perceptible as "shadows" in virtue of the fact that Motion is likewise a first principle of Mind.

We are at present endeavoring to fit into the conceptual framework of Plato's Space-Motion physics our most recent observations of the actual behavior of the elemental space-motion shapes which we now call "electrons" and "protons," in spite of the fact that most modern physicists have quite forgot their Plato, if they ever were really familiar with his system of thinking, the peculiar virtue of which was that it refused to ignore the physical limitations of knowledge itself in seeking a ποῦ στῶ for ideas.

The writer may perhaps therefore be pardoned if he takes Plato's dictum οὔτ' ἀκούομεν ἀκριβὲς οὐδὲν οὔτε ὁρῶμεν [2] (we neither see nor hear anything as it actually is) as his starting point for this brief discussion of the peculiar pitch inflection (*modulatio, vocis flexus, plasma*) which had begun to modify the pronunciation of classic Latin as early as Cicero's time, though then only sporadically.

[1] E. Zeller, *Outlines of the History of Greek Philosophy*, §41.

[2] The passage (*Phædo* 65A–C) in which this statement occurs, like so many of Plato's ideas when we remove them from the network of artificial translation concepts in which we usually entangle them, formulates a major premise that can hardly be improved upon by the most modern psychology of sensation. "What about the very means through which we acquire knowledge; is the physical nexus of perception an advantage or disadvantage in our effort to ascertain scientific facts? What I mean is this: are such human sensations as audition and vision quite trustworthy in their reports as to the ultimate nature of things? Or is it not true that (as the poets are always harping) we neither hear nor see anything as it actually is? And if these, admittedly the most trustworthy of our sensational mechanisms, are inaccurate and uncertain in their operations, how about the others? And this being the case, it must be only through the inferential processes of analytic reasoning (ἐν τῷ λογίζεσθαι) and not through perception, that the nature of reality (τι τῶν ὄντων) becomes really clear (κατάδηλον)."

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If we always heard speech sounds accurately (ἀκριβές) there would be little difficulty in reproducing them accurately since, as any phonetician knows, our tongues can easily be trained to produce a speech sound which our ears hear accurately. The Latin which was the medium of the intellectual life of those Romans whom Cicero was so fond of calling *optimates* attained such a peculiar perfection during the century immediately preceding the Christian era, that it has remained "classicus"—the frock and livery of the learned—for nearly twenty centuries. This classic Latin has not been substantially altered in its vocabulary, its inflection, and its syntax. But though its written form is still the same, its phonology has been so 'transmogrified' through successive distortions produced by inaccurate hearing that as now usually spoken the language would be without rime or reason to a republican Roman. The peculiar auditory feature of classic Latin which has been responsible for this change in phonology was its combination of what was originally a simple two-to-one differentiation of syllable time into *long* and *short*, concomitant with an equally simple pitch differentiation of *gravis* (low pitch) and *acutus* (high pitch).[3] The fact that high pitch (*acutus*) fell on one syllable of every word and a low pitch (*gravis*) was given to all other syllables produced a succession of syllables in which a high pitch was usually preceded and followed by one or more low pitches; for an *acutus* could not fall on the last syllable of a word, and a succession of monosyllables was rare.

To Cicero's generation the speech habitude which imposed these distinctions accurately was so natural that Cicero himself records the fact as an evidence of an intuitive consciousness in language independent of learning. Unlike Quintilian, he makes no complaint about the incorrect pronunciation of

[3] It must be borne in mind, however, that the terms βαρύς and ὀξύς which these two words represent connoted the respective emotional effects of a low and high voice tone, the former being 'heavy and dull,' the latter 'keen and poignant.' When we translate them by *low* and *high* we read into them something more than their original significance.

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contemporary Latin; but he does note a tendency on the part of eastern orators from Phrygia and Caria to introduce into their perorations an artificial variation which must have been one of pitch; for Cicero describes the effect as that of a rather vague form of singing—*in dicendo etiam quidem cantus obscurior* (*Or.* 18). He also here records the tradition that Aeschines and Demosthenes in moments of excitement were prone to fall into this mode of delivery, and later justifies it on the ground that "Nature herself, as if she intended that human speech should be melodious, has imposed an *acutus* on every spoken word" (*ib.* 58).

The shibboleth of classic Latin was such an accurate observance of the distinction between a long and a short syllable that an offended audience would hiss a Roman actor off the stage if he shortened a long vowel or lengthened a short one (Cicero, *de Orat.* III, 195). Moreover, our modern Romance Languages, when they arose from provincial Latin a few centuries later, took on a phonology whose distinctions depended largely upon the length of classic vowels, and preserve this impress of classic quantity to this day. The fact that Cicero, whose ears were extremely sensitive to quantity, as is evident from his statements about *clausulæ*, approves of *modulatio* as a pleasant variation of impassioned oratory, is in itself convincing evidence that whatever *modulatio* was, it did not in his time lengthen short vowels or shorten long ones. And when we recall the fact that as soon as stress accent began later to disturb the quantity of classic vowels there appeared on the syllable next but one to the primary accent a secondary accent, it seems hard to escape the conclusion that Cicero's *modulatio* consisted in raising slightly the pitch of an *acutus* and giving a slight pitch to the *gravis* syllables midway between two *acutæ;* so that the acoustic effect was like that of the "inconspicuous kind of singing" which characterized the liturgical intonation of Chaucer's Prioresse. The net result of the practice, as we shall see presently, would be to give emphasis to the words so treated—indeed it would be

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the only form of emphasis possible to classic Latin. Cicero's remark that *modulatio* appeared in perorations supports this view; likewise Quintilian's later implication that *vocis flexus* is characteristic of comic acting and his protest that if it is extended to serious oratory we shall soon have pleaders attempting to influence learned judges through buffooneries and clowneries accompanied by the barbaric jazz of drums and cymbals (*Inst.* XI, 3, 59).

But a century later *modulatio* had evidently lost its innocuous character and was spreading so widely as to threaten the very foundations of classic quantity. For in spite of his admiration of Cicero, and the sacredness with which he regards Ciceronian prescription, Quintilian inveighs bitterly against this popular *depravity* of Latin pronunciation, as he terms it, and says that his generation quite fails to recognize (*plerique intelligere nolunt*) the limitations of propriety implied in Cicero's *obscurior* (*Inst.* XI, 3, 60). He distinctly states that the practice "shortens long syllables and lengthens short ones" (IX, 4, 89). He admits that certain of the literati (*eruditos*) of his generation, and even some of the grammarians, justify an occasional *acutus* on a final syllable for the sake of distinguishing the meanings of words of like form; but he maintains that this custom, if it becomes general, will abolish the ancient law of language—"si consuetudo vicerit, vetus lex sermonis abolebitur" (I, 5, 29).

Like all subsequent grammarians down to comparatively recent times, Quintilian failed to recognize the fact that the *lex sermonis* is itself *consuetudo;* that the very classic Latin whose quantitative distinctions were easy to his tongue because his ears were accustomed to them was gradually becoming more difficult to Romans whose ears were daily filled with the rough exchanges of metropolitan business. The new *consuetudo* was bound to get the upper hand through the operation of *modulatio,* and in a few centuries Latin would shift its pitch distinctions to stress distinctions. With the change the ancient quantitative values of its syllables would

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become the academic fictions of grammarians inferable from classic Latin verse, but no longer heard as accurate phonetic differentiations of syllable time.

Quintilian's description of *modulatio* as *vocis flexus* (whence our term *tone inflection*) receives some illumination from recent physical investigations into the essential nature of sound. And these researches give us the clue to the psychology through which what we may assume to have been a pitch variation in Cicero's day was becoming a stress variation in Quintilian's, already beginning to disturb the quantitative values of classic Latin and destined ultimately to destroy them altogether as actual phonetic distinctions.

Our current conceptions of pitch fundamentals are substantially those of Pythagoras, and depend upon the behavior of stretched strings. The peculiar tube [4] which I hold in my hand in its operation demonstrates the fact that pitch fundamentals are academic fictions of the physicist much like those academic fictions of the medieval grammarians with which we are here concerned. For it shows that there is no such thing as a *fundamental* tone: what we really hear as pitch is due to the composition of a number of periodic motions of air particles producing a single maximum force resultant which recurs with the frequency of the slowest component in the system. In other words, the eggs are already scrambled when they reach the ear, and all the king's horses and all the king's men cannot restore them to their pristine state. If this maximum resultant is the only force resultant audible, we get what we call pure pitch. If any of the minor resultants necessarily recurring between each pair of maxima are audible, we get in addition to pitch what we call quality.[5]

[4] The Singing Tubes invented by Professor Charles T. Knipp of the University of Illinois produce, when heated at their rounded ends, tones of various pitches through various compositions of resonances affecting the original vibrations whose frequency remains constant. They thus operate precisely as does the human vocal machinery when air under pressure is forced through the so-called vocal chords. One of these tubes was used to illustrate the writer's point.

[5] The writer has shown elsewhere that owing to the "inaccuracy" of our

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When compounded vibrations start from a single source, as they do in speaking, none of the minor resultants can be as loud as the maximum; and hence any voice tone, whether sung or spoken, is bound to have pitch as long as the volumetric ratio of the two resonance chambers through which the resultant vibrations pass to the outer air remains constant. This, of course, is the case with our Knipp tube; for its resonance conditions do not vary. But I can alter the length of the outer tube by attaching a sort of "trombone slide" to it. As soon as I do this I change the resonance ratio and get another pitch. In a similar fashion we can alter at will the resonance ratio of the two chambers into which the raised tongue divides the mouth cavity when we speak, and within certain limits give to any tone we happen to be producing any pitch we may desire the tone to have. Moreover, we can do this without altering the so-called quality of the tone; for when we change the force and recurrence rate of the maximum resultant we necessarily change correspondingly the force and recurrence rates of the accompanying minor resultants; and it is the mean ratio of the two series that determines the quality of the tone.

The writer conceives of the pitch distinctions between the classic *acutus* and *gravis* to have been produced in this way—a distinction easily and unconsciously made so long as the pitches themselves were not widely variable as they were in *cantus*, or singing; for in that case it would not have been possible to distinguish a *gravis* from an *acutus* when the pitch of either was half way between the two extremes. The set time length of the *vox* or tone would in no way be interfered with by the pitch distinction so long as the latter was easily recognizable to Roman ears as marking the identity of the

hearing, these vocal qualities vary over eleven comparatively wide bands, the central portion of each of which is constant for normal ears, but the outer fringes of each of which are vague—precisely like the hues of the spectrum and owing to the same psycho-physical cause. Modern science thus furnishes us with a system of vocal phonetics for the Indogermanic languages that is comparatively simple; but this is not the point with which we are here concerned.

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syllable series forming a given concept. And owing to the same psychology that makes the musical tone group we call a bar recognizable as a musical unit, the metrical patterns of classic Roman prosody would easily be recognizable without an *ictus* to mark them. (It is the later grammarians who theorize at length on the nature of the *ictus* in verse.)

These Knipp tubes illustrate another acoustic effect of some significance in this connection. If I take my tube and, while it is singing its peculiar tone, slide the trombone attachment down from and back to the point where it was when the tone began, I produce a succession of maximum resultants whose recurrence rate increases progressively and then decreases progressively. The acoustic effect is a tone to which we cannot assign a definite pitch: it is really the fusion of a rapidly rising with a rapidly falling pitch. These "sliding," "bent," or "inflected" tones appear constantly in English without disturbing the fixed rising inflections associated with unfinished ideas, like questions, or the steep falling inflections associated with contempt and disapproval.

Quintilian's term *vocis flexus* (tone inflection) for what Cicero called *modulatio* suggests that *modulatio* had become this sort of an inflected tone given to a *syllaba acuta*. For one whose ears were not in the habit of recognizing easily an *acutus* pitch "accent" would attempt to hit it in rapid *sermo* with a "bent" tone rising from a *gravis* level and then falling back to it. Indeed, it is well nigh impossible for modern readers of classic verse to avoid a similar sing-song effect when they attempt to preserve the quantitative values of the Latin syllables and at the same time impose their pitch accents properly.

Our Knipp tubes also enable us to demonstrate physically a conclusion which the writer has elsewhere maintained upon mathematical grounds, viz. that a high pitched tone to be audible requires much more vocal energy than does a low pitched tone. In other words, that high pitches are in themselves natural emphasis points in speech, easily associated

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with cumulating feeling. For when one of these tubes singing a high tone is allowed to cool to the point where the sound it makes is quite inaudible, a tone of a much lower pitch will immediately become audible when a larger trombone tube of the proper length is attached to the apparently dead smaller tube, in spite of the fact that the device has not been restored to the flame and thus acquired fresh energy. The demonstration is, of course, new and startling, but it furnishes convincing evidence of the point we are making, viz. that a high pitched *acutus* was itself a form of emphasis, whether intentionally used for such a purpose or not. Indeed, Quintilian himself naïvely admits this psychological effect of a high pitch when, in speaking of the function of gesture in oratory, he says *vox animo paret* (XI, 3, 65).

It is obvious from Quintilian's comments upon *modulatio* that in his day it was what he considered a fault of elocution, but that no one was as yet employing it to cover up faults in the writing of Latin poetry. For the peculiar clarity which characterizes Quintilian's thinking and makes him so frequently supplement his exposition with concrete illustrations would in that event have preserved for us some examples of "free verse," as St. Augustine later practically terms it—*nullo modo certo fine.* That as yet *modulatio* was a *pravitas lectionis*, and nothing more, is further evident from the following (I, 8, 1): Superest lectio: in qua puer ut sciat, ubi suspendere spiritum debeat, quo loco versum distinguere, ubi claudatur sensus, unde incipiat, quando attollenda vel submittenda sit vox, quo quidque flexu, quid lentius celerius, concitatius lenius dicendum, demonstrari nisi in opere ipso non potest. unum est igitur, quod in hac parte praecipiam, ut omnia ista facere possit: intellegat. sit autem in primis lectio uirilis et cum suavitate quadam gravis, et non quidem prosae similis, quia et carmen est et se poetae canere testantur, non tamen in canticum dissoluta nec plasmate, ut nunc a plerisque fit, effeminata, de quo genere optime C. Caesarem praetextatum adhuc accepimus dixisse: "si cantas, male cantas, si legis, cantas."

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In this passage Quintilian not only clearly describes in detail the manner in which educated Romans of his generation read classic poetry and enforces his description with a characteristically tart remark of the youthful Caesar (and it may be noted in passing that in dealing with these details of poetic elocution—pauses, *clausulæ*, varying loudness, varying inflection, varying speed of utterance—Quintilian says nothing whatever about *arses* and *theses*), he also employs as a synonym for *modulatio* the term *plasma* which, a few centuries later, grammarians will cite to justify the use of stress rhythm in Latin verse.

Quintilian contrasts the manly and sweetly dignified elocution to which his ears had been accustomed (*lectio virilis et cum suavitate quadam gravis*) with what seems to him the effeminate preciosity (*plasmate effeminata*) of the oncoming generation. But when stress rhythm later made its appearance in the poetry of the early Church, it became expedient to square the new verse form with the old, all the more in that the fathers could not be properly termed *ineruditi*, however unlearned some of the rank and file of the early Christians might be. And it is one of the most erudite of these church fathers, a scholar who not only furnished us with the earliest extant popular example of Latin verse depending wholly upon stress rhythm, *Psalmus Contra Partem Donati*, but also wrote a reasoned treatise *de Musica*—it is St. Augustine who paves the way for our modern Latino-Germanic prosody when he says: Dicimus rhythmum esse ubi tantum legitimi pedes sunt et nullo modo certo fine: metrum esse ubi pedes legitimi certo fine coercentur (Fragment from St. Augustine's *de Musica*, Keil, VI, 631).

The *pedes legitimi* is eloquent of a consciousness of innovation. The standard "feet" of the new poetry, owing to the development of secondary stresses in later Latin, will of course be 'modulated' trochees and iambuses; and such verse as

Apparebit repentina
Dies magna domini

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with its successive quadruple units of Germanic rhythm and its apparently trochaic form,[6] will become typical.

Marius Victorinus, an African Christian who belongs to this period and whose work acquired great authority among medieval grammarians, naïvely justifies the *rhythmici modulationes* which made St. Augustine's "free verse" possible, on the ground that "while all long syllables are long and all short syllables are short, as metricists maintain, each class may vary within certain limits, just as one is wont to say that all Germans are tall, while as a matter of fact they vary in stature." [7] He associates his prosodic theory with the variation of *arsis* and *thesis* in classic verse, arguing that metre really flows (*de arsi et thesi manare*), and in like manner *modulatio* by shortening longs and lengthening shorts makes syllables flow; "unde et rhythmus, id est a rhysi et fluore quodam, nuncupatur."

Still more modern in its phrasing is Diomedes's explanation of *modulatio* from an æsthetic point of view—indeed, it might have been written yesterday by a "free verse" enthusiast. Conceiving of *modulatio* in Platonic fashion as *versus imago modulata*, he defines *rhythmus* as "continuati sermonis in iocundiorum [*sic* for *iucundiorem*] dicendi rationem artificialis flexus" [Quintilian's *vocis flexis* has now become *sermonis flexis*] "in delectabilem auditus formam conversus, asperitatis atque inperitiae vitandae gratia" (Keil, I, 429). Diomedes has evidently come to recognize *asperitas atque inperitia* as characteristic of current Latin pronunciation, though his ear still knows what *suavitas gravis* means. But his remedy is the very *modulatio* that Quintilian inveighed against, and he mediates it just as Victorinus does, through the flow (*numerus*) of thesis (*positio*) and arsis (*sublatio*) in classic verse.

The very multiplicity of his efforts to define his *imago*, however, is eloquent of his perplexity. He seems best satisfied with the following: "clarius sic: metrum est quod certis

[6] Beda later remarks that rhythmic types of verse are *ad formam metrici trochaici* (*de Arte Metrica*, Keil, VII, p. 259).

[7] Marius Victorinus *de Mensura Longarum et Brevium Syllabarum*, Keil, VI, 39.

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pedum quantitatibus qualitatibusque rhythmo discriminatur." (Keil, I, 474.) Here we have cheek by jowl the distinction between *quantity* and *quality* which some of our modern prosodists still love to juggle with.

But Diomedes is evidently not yet satisfied with his consummation of Platonic logic, for later on he cites from Varro a distinction that has an Aristotelian flavor—"et Varro dicit inter rhythmum, qui Latine numerus vocatur, et metrum hoc interesse quod inter materiam et regulam" ("substance" and "form").

Atilius Fortunatianus (fourth century) for the basis of his distinction between metre and rhythm reverts to Quintilian's *plasma*, which still seems in his mind to keep the pejorative connotation Quintilian gave it; for his *nunquam* is strong language: "metrum sine plasmate prolatum proprietatem suam servat; rhythmus nunquam sine plasmate valebit" (Keil, VI, 282). Later grammarians either invoke *modulatio* and *plasma*, *arsis* and *thesis*, to explain rhythm, or quite avoid discussing it. Priscian is silent on the subject. Donatus (*de Barbarismo*, Keil, IV, 392) throws up his hands in despair when it comes to enumerating barbarisms in respect to *toni*—"adiciuntur, detrahuntur, inmutantur, transmutantur"—the devil himself could not do the subject justice.

When this medieval prosodic theory later takes on catachetical form in school text books we have "Quid est rhythmus? Verborum modulata compositio non metrica ratione [*i.e.* proportion] sed numero ad iudicium aurium examinata. . . . Metrum est ratio cum modulatione [*i.e. positio-sublatio* variation]; rhythmus modulatio [*i.e. sermonis flexus*] sine ratione." [8] This last sentence is of peculiar interest to us, because Beda incorporates it in his *de Arte Metrica* (c. 24) where it becomes the *locus classicus* for the prosody of English Humanism.

The situation the post-classical grammarians were really

[8] *Audacis Excerpta*, Keil, VII, 331; *Ars Palæmonis*, Keil, VI, 206; see also Teuffel, *History of Roman Literature*, II, 339.

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confronting was a new *consuetudo sermonis* imported from languages which knew not accurate quantitative distinctions, but employed stress distinctions in their stead. For non-native Romans like St. Augustine and Victorinus could not hear "longs" and "shorts" with accuracy (as Augustine himself laments) because their native speech consciousness was used to stress distinctions; they therefore heard the *acutus* as a stress accent and imitated it accordingly. This stressed *acutus* then began to lengthen short vowels, as stress accent always does, and to rob the long *graves* of some of their time duration, the tendency of *vocis flexus* against which Quintilian already protests in the first century, until classic quantity ultimately became a mere norm of ideal excellence in language quite disregarded in the common exigencies of daily life and conversation.

Thus medieval Latin, while preserving fairly faithfully the outward form of classic Latin, settled down to a stress phonology, somewhat modified by local peculiarities. In the sixteenth century Anglican Latin, in spite of the vigorous protest of the scholars of the time, even adopted English phonology, and is still pronounced as English in many universities, a practice naïvely justified on the ground that it is a "dead" language with which one may take liberties not permitted in dealing with a living tongue. As a matter of fact, Latin has never been a dead language among the learned (unless such a consummation has overtaken the present generation) and the church has always recognized the fact. With the revival of classic learning the classic quantities were as far as possible restored to liturgical usage, and still echo in our ears when we listen to the Gregorian service. But the Latin loan words in modern languages trace to the medieval stress-phonology, and even the borrowed Greek we use in science comes to us in the dress of medieval Latin.

These facts, of course, are now quite generally recognized. The sole aim of the present paper is to focus a little fresh light from the laboratory upon the knotty problem of language

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development which the admitted facts imply, and in doing so to illustrate Plato's dictum that wherever Mind is, there it is as a whole. In other words, if Quintilian's thesis that "the voice obeys the mind" is a sound one, and we may be permitted to entertain Plato's conception that the activating principle (ἀρχή) of Mind is Motion, it follows that physics has something to do with language.

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II.—*A Discussion of Some Passages in the Prologue to the Georgics.*[1] (I. 14, 15 and 27)

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My aim in this article is to suggest that some at any rate of the Prologue to the *Georgics* may have been written as late as 26 B.C. My paper falls into two parts, I, dealing with lines 14, 15, II, dealing with lines 24–42.

I

Geor. I. 14, 15: et cultor nemorum, cui pinguia Ceae
ter centum nivei tondent dumeta iuvenci.

A preface is likely to be written when the rest of the work is complete, and it is generally taken for granted that this is the case with the prologue to the *Georgics*. Haverford in Conington's Virgil (vol. I. Introd. pp. 163–165) accepts Suetonius's statement that the *Georgics* "were written in seven years and read to Octavian at Atella, that is, just before the great triple triumph of August, 29." Further on Haverford says, "The prefaces to the first and third books, and the last eight lines of the fourth book, were plainly written in 30 or 29." He then goes on to accept the story of Servius that after the death of Cornelius Gallus (in 26 B.C.) "Virgil at the order of Augustus substituted the story of Orpheus" for the praises of Gallus. "Whether this alteration was accompanied by changes in other parts of the *Georgics* and was in fact part of a new edition, as Ribbeck thinks, is less easy to decide. There is, however, no allusion to any event later than 29

[1] It will be seen that I do not attempt in this paper to deal with the whole vexed question of dates and editions, on which so many scholars have labored; my aim is much more modest—to see if the closer examination of these lines in the Prologue gives some indication of the date at which they were written. In the nature of things a proof in such subjective matters cannot be hoped for; I shall be satisfied if other workers in the same field find these suggestions at least plausible and an aid to further investigations.

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(see III. 31), and no real literary evidence of revision: it is, therefore, rash to assume that the alterations made in or after 26 extended beyond the episode of Gallus." Perhaps then I am rash in submitting considerations which seem to me to suggest that the Preface at any rate may have received some additions or alterations in 26 B.C. when the Aristaeus episode was put into the fourth *Georgic* to replace the praises of Gallus, but at least I follow many distinguished scholars in this quest.[2]

Vergil's source for the Aristaeus episode in *Geor.* IV is unknown, but from its extreme elaboration it is usually supposed to be derived from an Alexandrian writer. Is it not fair to question whether Vergil would have included Aristaeus, surely somewhat recondite, in his invocation of gods and goddesses, if he were not needed here to link up the beginning and the end of the poem? Liber and Ceres, Fauns and Dryads, Neptune, Pan, Minerva, Triptolemus, and Silvanus in Lord Macaulay's day at least would have been familiar to every schoolboy; but without the fourth *Georgic* many serious students would have remained indifferent to Aristaeus, and perhaps unaware of his existence. What is he doing in this galley?

The passage in the fourth *Georgic*, where Aristaeus is merely the hero of the epyllion, starts abruptly with *Pastor Aristaeus* (317), though in answer to *Quis deus?* (315). In 283 he is called *Arcadii—ministri.*[3] In the epyllion his human status seems

[2] R. Sabbadini ("La Composizione della Georgica di Virgilio," *Rivista di Filologia*, XXIX (1901), 16–22, thinks that *Geor.* I, II, were all that Vergil wrote at first. I note that his suggestions about the changes Vergil made in I. 1–5 when he added *Geor.* III, IV, are grounded on the same kind of considerations as mine. He thinks the first lines were originally

> Quid faciat laetas segetes, quo sidere terram
> vertere, Maecenas, ulmisque adiungere vitis
> conveniat <pinguisque oleae qui cultus habendus>
> hinc canere incipiam.

He thinks this is proved by the collocation of words in I, *segetes—quo sidere, vitis, oleae*, and II. 1–3, *arvorum, sidera, Bacche, olivae;* and submits other similar considerations.

[3] R. Sabbadini, *l.c.*, thinks 283–286 were put in by Vergil when he replaced the praises of Gallus with the Aristaeus episode (315–558), *i.e.* these lines do for

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to be taken for granted; he is as dependent on his mother as Achilles was on Thetis. Presumably he finally attained godhead by his benefits to mankind.[4] Therefore, if Aristaeus is to be placed among the gods of the invocation mention must be made of Ceos, where he was worshipped with the attributes of Zeus,[5]

> et cultor nemorum, cui pinguia Ceae
> ter centum nivei tondent dumeta iuvenci.

Would all contemporary readers of the *Georgics*, even if they must be assumed to be fairly well read, have recognized this divinity, thrust in between Neptune and Pan, with little beyond *Ceae* to identify him? Is it rash to conjecture that the lines originally stood

> 12 tuque, o cui prima frementem
> 13 fudit equum magno tellus percussa tridenti;
> 16 ipse nemus linquens patrium saltusque Lycaei
> 17 Pan, ovium custos . . . ?

The absence of a connective with *ipse* is just as marked if the Aristaeus lines 14–15 are kept as it is after the reference to the god Neptune; and there is no need to identify by name the possessor of the trident, giver of the horse. If then the reference to Aristaeus was inserted in 26 B.C., *Neptune* is the link to the previous line,

> Neptune; et cultor nemorum. . . .

The omission of 14–15 would also give a closer parallelism with the first part of the invocation, where in 5–6 we have

> vos, o clarissima mundi
> lumina, labentem caelo quae ducitis annum,

and in 7

> Liber et alma Ceres,

where the asyndeton has led some commentators (as Coning-

the epyllion what I think I. 14–15 do for the *Georgics* as a whole—introduce Aristaeus. He points out many indications of incomplete fusion in the text of this episode. I should agree with him in this.

[4] As stated by Paus. VIII. 2, 4, and Diodorus IV. 81.

[5] Head, *Hist. Num.* 482–483.

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ton) [6] to desire to interpret Liber and Ceres as the sun and moon. If the parallel with *ipse* is justified, a very real difficulty is explained. Here in 12, 13 we have

tuque o, cui prima frementem
fudit equum magno tellus percussa tridenti,

then (omitting 14, 15, the Aristaeus lines) in 16 we have

ipse nemus linquens . . . ,

i.e. Pan would be introduced with asyndeton after the sea god, giver of the horse, just as Liber and Ceres are introduced after *lumina*.

In the first passage we have in lines 10 ff.

et vos, agrestum praesentia numina, Fauni, etc.,

and in the second, 18 ff.

oleae*que* Minerva, etc.

I

vos, o clarissima mundi
lumina, labentem caelo quae ducitis annum;
Liber et alma Ceres, vestro si munere tellus
Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit arista,
poculaque inventis Acheloia miscuit uvis;
et vos, agrestum praesentia numina, Fauni,
ferte simul Faunique pedem Dryadesque puellae:
munera vestra cano.

II

tuque o, cui prima frementem
fudit equum magno tellus percussa tridenti;
ipse nemus linquens patrium saltusque Lycaei
Pan, ovium custos, tua si tibi Maenala curae,
adsis, o Tegeaee, favens, oleae*que* Minerva
inventrix, uncique puer monstrator aratri,
et teneram ab radice ferens, Silvane, cupressum;
dique deaeque omnes, studium quibus arva tueri,

If these two sets of lines are arranged opposite each other, omitting 14, 15 (the Aristaeus lines which I suggest were

[6] The punctuation in the Oxford Text also suggests that the editor took it in this way.

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inserted when the Aristaeus epyllion in the fourth book replaced the praises of Gallus), the correspondence is very striking.

In column I we have

> vos, o clarissima mundi
> lumina, labentem caelo quae ducitis annum,

i.e. divinities of the sky invoked in 1½ lines.

In column II

> tuque o, cui prima frementem
> fudit equum magno tellus percussa tridenti,

i.e. the god of the sea, invoked in 1½ lines.

Then in column I

> Liber et alma Ceres, vestro si munere tellus
> Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit arista,
> poculaque inventis Acheloia miscuit uvis,

i.e. three lines for Bacchus and Ceres, with asyndeton.

In column II

> ipse nemus linquens patrium saltusque Lycaei
> Pan, ovium custos, tua si tibi Maenala curae
> adsis, o Tegeaee, favens,

i.e. 2½ lines for Pan, with asyndeton.

In column I

> et vos, agrestum praesentia numina, Fauni,
> ferte simul Faunique pedem Dryadesque puellae:
> munera vestra cano,

i.e. 2½ lines for Fauns and Dryads.

In column II

> oleaeque Minerva
> inventrix, uncique puer monstrator aratri,
> et teneram ab radice ferens, Silvane, cupressum;
> dique deaeque omnes, studium quibus arva tueri,

i.e. 3½ lines for Minerva and the others. Here Minerva is spread over the end of 18 and the beginning of 19, *i.e.* she can be taken with Pan to balance Bacchus and Ceres, leaving Triptolemus and Silvanus and all the gods and goddesses of

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the fields to balance the Fauns and Dryads; or Pan alone can balance Bacchus and Ceres, counting Minerva in with the others.

There are thus eight lines in each column, if we go a step further, and suppose that 22, 23

> quique novas alitis non ullo semine *fruges*
> quique satis largum caelo demittitis imbrem

were added with the lines immediately following which invoke Caesar; and that they lead up to line 27

> auctorem *frugum* tempestatumque potentem.

In line 24,

> tuque adeo . . .

Caesar is invoked, and is supposed to be hesitating as to what kind of god he will choose to be. First is considered the charge of the land, making him correspond to those divinities mentioned in the second place in both columns, Bacchus and Ceres, Pan and Minerva, etc.; next the sea, in 3 lines, matching the mention of Neptune above; third the sky in 4 lines, corresponding to

> vos, o clarissima mundi
> lumina, labentem caelo quae ducitis annum,

mentioned first in the invocation of deities; *i.e.* in a sense the order is chiastic.

The reference to Venus in 28

> cingens materna tempora myrto

perhaps serves to mark the transition from land to sea.

I would submit then that lines 14, 15 may have been added in 26 B.C. or thereabouts, when Vergil replaced the praises of Gallus by the epyllion, and that the argument from symmetry gives some support to this suggestion.

II

Geor. I. 27: *auctorem* frugum.

If *auctor* here is to be thought of as possessing the full significance of *augere*, to increase (as Nettleship thought, see

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his note *ad loc.*), perhaps it may be legitimate to conjecture that this also was written in 26 B.C., with an implied reference to Octavian's assuming the name Augustus in the preceding year.[7] The whole passage, 24–42, has a resemblance to Horace, *Carm.* I. 2. 25-end.

Here a digression is necessary. Most of this paper had been written before I read Professor Tenney Frank's recent very interesting and suggestive book.[8] In one of the chapters[9] Professor Frank sets forth a very different view of Horace's ideas about Augustus's divinity. He seems to say that Horace was later than the other Augustan writers in accepting the doctrine, that in fact they had given it up when he began to write about it, and that when he does accept it "he adopts the formula rather of the Greek Hero-cult." This ode (I. 2), Professor Frank refers to[10] as "an old one," *i.e.* old when books I–III were published together, but in a note[11] he had suggested that it might belong to January, 22 B.C., though without giving reasons for so late a date, nor does he deal with the ode further. To me the poem has long appeared of high importance in the history of Horace's relations with Augustus. I regard it as one of the earliest if not the earliest of Horace's Sapphics, partly from various imitations of Catullus's eleventh poem, as pointed out by the late Professor Mortimer Lamson Earle,[12] but also, and perhaps more important, from the whole substance and atmosphere of the poem. I should emphatically agree with the numerous editors who place it in 28 B.C. (or 29). In teaching the *Odes* I have always emphasised strongly the difference between this ode with its tone of anxiety, and its tentative suggestions of deity, written probably in 28 B.C., and ode 12 of the first

[7] See my article on "The Significance of *augustior*," *A.J.P.* XLVII (1926), 351.

[8] *Catullus and Horace, Two Poets in their Environment.*

[9] *L.c.* 197–204.

[10] *L.c.* 229.

[11] P. 286, n. 22 (on p. 226).

[12] See *Class. Rev.* XVII (1904), 391–392, and *Rev. de Phil.* XXVII, (1903), 269–272, reprinted in *Classical Papers of M. L. Earle*, pp. 183–185, and 208–211.

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book, which from the allusion to Marcellus, is supposed to date between 25 B.C., his marriage to Julia, and 23 B.C., his death. In ode 12 Horace begins

> Quem *virum* aut *heroa* lyra vel acri
> tibia sumis celebrare, Clio?
> quem *deum*?

and near the end he says, of Jupiter,

> tu secundo
> Caesare regnes,

where Augustus is plainly put very close to Jove. The whole poem is absolutely free from the doubts and trouble of ode 2. Professor Frank deals with this ode,[13] but thinks it merely illustrates Horace's conception of Augustus as a Hero, which above he calls "a doctrine of his (Horace's) own."[14] But according to Dio (LI. 20. 6) under the year 29 B.C., Caesar (*i.e.* Octavian) allowed precincts to be dedicated in Ephesus and Nicaea to Rome and to Caesar his father, whom he named the hero Julius, ἥρωα αὐτὸν Ἰούλιον ὀνομάσας. The passages in Vergil and Livy which tacitly identify Augustus with Hercules show that one of the easiest approaches to deification of the Emperor was by way of the Hero cult—the hero who had won immortality by his own deeds. There seems no reason for crediting Horace with the first thought of it. Ode III. 3, whatever its date (it is of course after 27 B.C.), has advanced still further; Augustus (now called by this name) is joined with Pollux and Hercules, Bacchus and Quirinus. The drinking of nectar, whether present or future, is less important than the classification with the other divinities.[15] First, then, it would

[13] P. 203.

[14] P. 201. He adds below "not entirely unknown at Rome, to be sure."

[15] Professor Frank takes the mention of Troy, in the last part of the ode, as a reference to Julius Caesar's project of moving the capital to Troy or Alexandria, but he does not refer to Dr. Walter Leaf's article, *J. of Phil.* XXXIV, 283–289, on Horace, *Odes* I. 14. Leaf explained I. 14 and 15 (Nereus's prophecy to Paris), as both written in 31–29 B.C., during Octavian's absence from Rome after Actium, as a "covert but passionate protest." He says that later on Augustus let Horace deny such rumours by *Odes* III. 3. 56 ff., in the mouth of Juno.

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seem to me that in these three key odes, I. 2, I. 12, and III. 3, the first dated in 28 (or 29), and the others at any rate between 27 and 23, whether we can get closer or not, Horace does definitely allude to Octavian as a god, and not merely as a hero. In the second place, besides recognition in the other Augustan poets of Augustus as divine or semi-divine, there is the famous passage in *Aeneid* VI. 777–812. Here Augustus Caesar, divi genus (792), is introduced after Romulus (777–784) and before Numa (808–812), with mention also of Hercules and Bacchus.

> nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit . . . (801 ff.)
> nec qui pampineis victor iuga flectit habenis
> Liber . . . (804–805).

I think that Vergil in this passage is assuredly doing his part in the apotheosis of Augustus. But here he seems to follow rather the method of Livy, who tells of Romulus and Hercules and Numa in such a way that Augustus must needs be thought of, though only once does he name him in the account of these heroes—when Numa closes the Janus gates, to be closed later in Livy's own time, post bellum Actiacum ab imperatore Caesare Augusto pace terra marique parta.[16] I should be inclined to think that in this passage of book VI Vergil is imitating Livy, as in some other passages.[17]

To return now to Horace, *Odes* I. 2. 25 to end, and its resemblances to *Geor.* I. 24–42, Horace asks *which* divinities should the people summon to aid, and suggests Apollo, or Venus, or Mars, or Mercury (who, the poet hints, is really Octavian himself). In the last two stanzas he refers very definitely to Romulus—

With this may be compared the speech of Camillus in Livy V. 51 ff. Rosenberg (*Einleitung und Quellenkunde zur römischen Geschichte*, p. 147) dates book IV of Livy as 25 B.C. at latest; so presumably book V is 25 or 24 B.C.

[16] Livy I, 19. 3. See my paper, *A.J.P.* XLVII (1926), 347–357. It may be worth while to note that Livy (I. 21. 6.) sums up the reigns of Romulus and Numa, "Ita duo deinceps reges, alius alia via, ille bello hic pace, civitatem *auxerunt*."

[17] *E.g.* in *Aen.* I. 241–249, the lines about Antenor.

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serus in caelum redeas diuque
laetus intersis populo *Quirini*,
neve *te* nostris vitiis iniquum
ocior *aura*
tollat.

It should be noted here that Horace is alluding to the officially received tale of the apotheosis of Romulus, sublimem raptum procella, Livy I. 16. 2, not to the other story given by Livy in the next paragraph, discerptum regem patrum manibus. This latter story had been brought up by way of warning to Pompey by the consul during the debate on the Gabinian Law,[18] and it was no doubt thought of, if not mentioned, when it was proposed that Octavian should take the title of Romulus. This poem of Horace, as already said, is usually dated 28 B.C. Now Keightley, quoted by Conington on line 24, says that Vergil's invocation of Caesar in *Geor.* I is probably the first specimen of its kind. If, however, this part of the prologue can be dated to 26 (or even to 27[19]), then Horace's much simpler and more direct address would be the first.

Cui dabit partes *scelus expiandi*
Iuppiter?

First Apollo is suggested—Octavian's patron and his helper at Actium; then Venus, ancestress of the Julian line; then Mars, father of Romulus, and so of Rome; then Mercury, (perhaps as god of the arts of peace?).[20]

Contrast this simple and direct mention of four personal divinities with the much more elaborate treatment in Vergil.

"It is doubtful *which* society of gods you are to join,—gods

[18] Plut. *Pomp.* 25.

[19] See Drew, "Virgil's Marble Temple, *Geor.* III. 10–39," *Class. Quart.* XVIII. (1924) 195–202, esp. 201–202.

[20] See Professor Kenneth Scott, *Hermes* LXIII. (1928), 15–33, also in *P.A.P.A.* LVIII (1927), XXV. I should agree with Professor Scott that Horace was probably the first to suggest the identification of Augustus and Mercury. I think that Horace, after mentioning Apollo, Venus, and Mars, from their close connection with Augustus inevitably to be named, added Mercury as a god of peace and civilization, in sharp contrast with Mars. The idea, *i.e.* the identification of Augustus and Mercury, does not seem to have "caught on." See Scott, *l.c.*

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of earth, of sea, or of sky (certainly *not* gods of the underworld)."

First *earth*—

> urbesne invisere, Caesar,
> terrarumque velis curam, et te maximus orbis
> *auctorem* frugum tempestatumque potentem
> accipiat, cingens materna tempora myrto,

Giver of increase and controller of the weather, *auctor* (as I think) to suggest *Augustus*, and the reference to Venus to remind of his divine origin (perhaps also as I suggested above to mark the transition from land to sea), in 3½ lines.

Then sea, in 3 lines,

> an deus immensi venias [21] maris ac tua nautae
> numina sola colant, tibi serviat ultima Thule,
> teque sibi generum Tethys emat omnibus undis.

Then sky, in 4 lines,

> anne novum tardis sidus te mensibus addas,
> qua locus Erigonen inter chelasque sequentes
> panditur—ipse tibi iam bracchia contrahit ardens
> Scorpius et caeli iusta plus parte relinquit

Then 4 lines to reject the possibility of the lower realms being chosen,

> quidquid eris—nam te nec sperant Tartara regem
> nec tibi regnandi veniat tam dira cupido,
> quamvis Elysios miretur Graecia campos,
> nec repetita sequi curet Proserpina matrem,

Then 3 lines of prayer,

> da facilem cursum atque audacibus adnue coeptis,
> ignarosque viae mecum miseratus agrestes
> ingredere et votis iam nunc adsuesce vocari.

Surely a date not earlier than 27 is more plausible for this elaborate passage. Horace's tentative suggestion of deity would have been very tame, if Vergil's full-fledged invocation to Caesar as a god had preceded it. Has not Vergil taken

[21] This suggests (I should like to say "is reminiscent of") *venias* precamur . . . augur Apollo, in Horace's ode (1. 2. 30–32).

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Horace's idea [22] and raised it to the nth power? The result has not commanded universal admiration.

The references to Caesar's divinity in Vergil which are undoubtedly early seem to me to be of a different kind.

In *Ecl.* 1. 6 f.

> *deus* nobis haec otia fecit.
> namque erit ille *mihi* semper *deus* [23]

we may perhaps be willing to follow Conington *ad loc.*, who says, "This is probably mere hyperbole, though it heralds the adulation which treated a living emperor as a god." Nettleship just before (in the Introduction, p. 21) says, "Divine honours were not, so far as we know, publicly decreed to Octavian by the towns of Italy until 36 B.C. (App. V. 132).[24] It is uncertain whether the language of the first *Eclogue* warrants us in inferring that they were paid to him by private individuals before this date, or whether the verses in question were added by Virgil as late as 36, or whether the whole poem should be assigned to this year." If *Eclogue* I was written in 40, as many think, the word *deus* may be thought of as a somewhat extravagant expression of Vergil's private feelings, and very far from the tone of the passage at the beginning of the first *Georgic*. The word itself may mean no more than a patron or the like. Lewis and Short, to go no further afield, give a sufficiency of examples, *e.g.*

Plaut. *Curc.* 167: sum *deus*.
Ter. *Ad.* 535: facio te apud illum *deum*. (Add *Phormio* 345, quoted in note 23.)
Cic. *Att.* IV. 16. 3: *deus* ille noster Plato.

[22] Such imitations of each other by the Augustan poets were of course common enough. See *e.g.* Prof. Frank's *Vergil*, 142 f. for Horace's imitation of the *Culex* in *Epode* 2, and Vergil's return imitation of *Epode* 2 in *Geor.* II.

[23] Is this a reminiscence of Terence *Ph.* 345, non tu hunc habeas plane praesentem deum?

[24] Appian only says καὶ ἦν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτῶν ἐς τότε ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι· καὶ αὐτὸν αἱ πόλεις τοῖς σφετέροις θεοῖς συνίδρυον, translated by Horace White "Octavius was now twenty-eight years of age. Cities joined in placing him among their tutelary gods." In the same chapter Appian gives the same year as the date of Octavian's election to the tribunate, which White points out in a note was really 25 B.C. So Appian may have the other date—such as it is—wrong too.

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Cic. *Or.* I. 106: te in dicendo semper putavi *deum.*
Cic. *Sest.* 144: Lentulum, cuius ego patrem *deum* ac parentem statuo.

Most apposite for the present purpose is Horace *Sat.* II. 6. 52.

deos quoniam propius contingis,

of Augustus and Maecenas. No one supposes that divine honors are claimed here for Maecenas, and I should maintain that *erit ille mihi semper deus* goes no further in actual deification, though Vergil's feelings give it a warmer tone.

I think the passage at the end of *Georgic* I (498–505) has not advanced very far—

Di patrii . . .
500 hunc saltem everso iuvenem succurrere saeclo
ne prohibete! . . .
503 iam pridem nobis caeli te regia, Caesar,
invidet, atque hominum queritur curare triumphos,
quippe ubi fas versum atque nefas, . . .

but instead of the feeling of personal gratitude there is now the thought of a possible saviour of the State. Conington here well compares Horace, *Odes* I. 2, and in this case Horace may be the imitator.[25]

Again in the Prologue to *Georgic* III it appears to me that the situation is much the same (13, 16):

templum de marmore ponam
in medio *mihi* Caesar erit, templumque tenebit.

Again the note is personal, and as far as *divinity* is concerned the phrase means little more than the English metaphor "*enshrine* in my poem."

Further on, 27: victorisque arma Quirini, and 35–36:

Assaraci proles demissaeque ab Iove gentis
nomina, Trosque parens et Troiae Cynthius auctor

[25] The more striking parallels in Horace's ode to this passage of *Georgic* I are *iuvenem* (41), *magnos triumphos* (49); but *vidimus* (13) may also be reminiscent of *Geor.* I. 472

vidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Aetnam,

as we learn from Servius that Livy mentioned an eruption of Aetna among the prodigies before the death of Julius Caesar.

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are of course intended to recall Romulus and the divine ancestors of Octavian, but cannot be said positively to claim divinity for him.

My view then would be that the prologue to the *Georgics*, in its present form, from 24 to 42, Tuque adeo . . . votis iam nunc adsuesce vocari, could hardly have been written *before* 27, and *must* have been written later than Horace's second ode (usually dated 29 or 28). As we know Vergil had to make *some* changes in the *Georgics* in 26, after Gallus's death, it is not unreasonable to date these lines in that year. In Part I of this paper I have suggested that lines 14, 15, referring to Aristaeus, were inserted after the Aristaeus episode had replaced the praises of Gallus in *Geor.* IV.[26] If we could suppose then that lines I. 14, 15 and 24–42 had been inserted when the alterations took place in book IV, I personally should not feel that anything else in *Georgics* I–III need necessarily have been part of a second edition.[27] I should suppose that there was undoubtedly *some* reference to Octavian in the original prologue, but probably a brief one, and that it certainly did not go so far in the direction of his deification.

[26] The earlier part of the prologue, first the address to Maecenas and then the invocation of divinities concerned with the farmers' needs, would be quite in line with the beginning of book II (address to Bacchus, 1–8, *followed* by the address to Maecenas, 39–46, tuque ades . . .) Note the chiastic arrangement of these two beginnings:

Book I	(1) Maecenas.	(2) divinities.
Book II	(1) Bacchus.	(2) Maecenas.

In book III the gods of cattle are invoked first, then comes Caesar with his temple, then in 41–42 a brief reference to Maecenas, 46–48 another reference to Caesar.

Book IV has in the prologue a brief address to Maecenas, and a still briefer reference to divinities, 6, 7:

si quem
numina laeva sinunt auditque vocatus Apollo.

At the end of IV there is a brief reference to Caesar's victories, but nothing more definite for his divinity than l. 562:

viamque adfectat Olympo

[27] It will be seen that most of the questions raised in Ribbeck's *Prolegomena* are not pertinent to my theme. My aim is to suggest that these parts of the prologue (14, 15, and 24–42) may belong to a period after 27 B.C.

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III.—*The Constitutio Antoniniana in the Light of the* Γνώμων Τοῦ Ἰδίου Λόγου

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THE year 212 A.D. terminates a long period of historical development during which the appellation *civis Romanus*, at first limited to the inhabitant of an insignificant town of Latium, extended its scope to embrace all or nearly all the inhabitants of the civilized world. "In orbe Romano qui sunt, ex constitutione imperatoris Antonini cives Romani effecti sunt"[1] is Ulpian's description of the imperial edict promulgated in that year. Yet, like so many measures that mark the close of an epoch of steady progress, the Edict of Caracalla is said by historians to have been motivated by that most common of human frailties, the greed for increased financial return. This was the opinion of Dio writing at the time of the Edict,[2] and his judgment has been echoed ever since. His disillusionment is shared by Greenidge, who, in his *Roman Public Life*, tersely appraises the grant: "A universal citizenship was also amongst the hidden treasures of the Empire, but it was a gift conferred in proportion to its valuelessness, and the Princeps whose edict was to make the world a city was a calculating spendthrift bent only on increasing the taxes of his subjects."[3] Quite recently, a similar depreciatory conclusion has been reached by Mr. Rostovtzeff in his *Social and Economic History*

[1] *Digest* 1, 5, 17.

[2] Dio Cassius, LXXVII, 9: Ῥωμαίους πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ, λόγῳ μὲν τιμῶν, ἔργῳ δὲ ὅπως πλείω αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου προσίῃ, διὰ τὸ τοὺς ξένους τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν μὴ συντελεῖν, ἀπέδειξεν. The new source of revenue opened up was the *vicesima hereditatum* (now increased to 10%), established by Augustus and imposed on Roman citizens. The tribute continued to be collected from provincials as before. (Cf. Capocci, *La "Constitutio Antoniniana," Studi di papirologia e di diritto pubblico romano*, p. 66, Memorie della R. Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali storiche e filologiche, Anno CCCXXII, Serie sesta, Volume 1, Fascicolo 1, Roma, 1925.)

[3] Greenidge, *op. cit.* p. 427.

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of the Roman Empire: "In fact Caracalla's grant did not help any one and had no real social or political importance. . . . The new Roman citizens became subject to the Roman law, which in this period of the development of an all-imperial law did not mean very much; and that was all." [4]

But we cannot let the matter rest there. Discussion of this Constitution was aroused anew by the discovery of a papyrus fragment, the Giessen Papyrus 40, 1,[5] which scholars hailed as a copy of the Edict. A large number of writers [6] are engaged in establishing the text of this fragment and in determining from it the extent of Caracalla's grant. Within the last two years, however, a doubt has been cast upon the nature of the Giessen fragment, and if the view of Bickermann,[7] maintained in his doctoral dissertation, be accepted by scholars, the whole question of the exact terms of the grant will be reopened to an entirely new path of approach.

The focal point of most of these discussions is the province of Egypt. The constant discovery and interpretation of papyri have brought into clearer light the society and life of this country in the period of Roman rule. There, in the year 1912, at Theadelpheia, a village of the Fayum, was discovered a papyrus, now part of the Berlin collection, which is entitled the ΓΝΩΜΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΙΔΙΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ. This *Γνώμων*, or code of regulations for the use of a Roman financial official, the *Idiologos*, has received considerable attention since its publication by Schubart and Seckel in the *Berliner Griechische Urkunden* in 1919.[8] Foremost among its interpreters are Théo-

[4] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* p. 370.

[5] *Griech. Papyri im Museum d. Oberhess. Geschichtvereins zu Giessen* I, 3 (1912), pp. 165 ff.

[6] For list of articles see Meyer, *Juristische Papyri* (1920), p. 1 and Capocci, *op. cit.* pp. 9, 10.

[7] E. Bickermann, *Das Edikt des Kaisers Caracalla in P. Giss. 40.* Berlin, 1926. Bickermann's thesis is a model of clarity and cogent reasoning. He proves from the three legible portions of the text that the provisions contained therein are incompatible with the theory that the edict of the papyrus is the so-called Edict of Caracalla. He maintains that the text is a copy of a later edict extending Roman citizenship to barbarians settled in the Empire.

[8] *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden*, Band V, Heft I, *Der Gnomon des Idios Logos.*

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dore Reinach [9] and H. Stuart Jones. The latter, in an inaugural lecture, "Fresh Light on Roman Bureaucracy," [10] has shown the importance of the *Idiologos*, the official in charge of the "special account" of the crown. Through the activity of the *Idiologos* and his agents, the social and even the religious life of the country was regulated by means of an elaborate system of fines for the infraction of laws governing property and civil status. The date of the Γνώμων has been determined as 149 A.D.,[11] over sixty years previous to the Edict of Caracalla. The text represents as in full swing a system of class distinctions unsuspected from the evidence we possessed before its discovery. The duties of the *Idiologos* brought him into contact with all the classes of a country singularly rich in its many layers of population. It is from a study of this code that I propose to examine the results of the Edict of Caracalla on the whole social structure and its legal basis in the province of Egypt. With a clear picture of these results in mind, we shall be in a position to state with certainty that the Edict, whether motivated or not by the petty greed of a tyrannical ruler, was more than a fiscal measure.

I

The first important revelation of the Γνώμων is that there was, in the middle of the second century of our era, an abnormally large number of divisions of the population of Egypt. A brief summary is necessary before we can proceed to discuss the provisions of the code which show the differences according to class in the operation of laws regarding marriage, status of children, making of wills, inheritances, and the like.

At the top of the scale, quite naturally, were the Roman citizens.[12] These were as elsewhere subject to Roman law, though the Code of the *Idiologos* shows certain variations from the

[9] *Un Code fiscal de l'Égypte romaine: Le Gnomon de l'idiologue. Nouvelle revue historique de droit français et étranger*, XLIII (1919), 583–636: Texte et traduction et cet.; XLIV (1920), 5–134: Commentaire.

[10] *Oxford Lectures on Classical Subjects*. 1920.

[11] Reinach, *op. cit.* p. 584, p. 15. Jones, *op. cit.* p. 11.

[12] Articles 2, 8, 16, 18, 22, 23, 24, 27–33, 39, 46, 52, 54, 56, 59, 68.

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usages known to us through a study of the collections of Gaius, Ulpian, and Justinian. The Romans in the main constituted the official class of the province, and their ranks were being constantly recruited from the army through the grant of citizenship to soldiers on discharge, and from the servile population by the practice of manumission. Next to the body of Roman citizens stood the Greeks, a class which comprised several sub-categories. Most important of the Greeks were the inhabitants of Alexandria, who are called sometimes Ἀλεξανδρεῖς,[13] and sometimes ἄστοι[14] or ἄσταί, terms which Reinach considers synonymous.[15] The right of Alexandrian citizenship was carefully guarded, for, as we know from Pliny the Younger,[16] it was the first step in Egypt to the acquisition of Roman citizenship. Next to the Alexandrians came the Greeks of the Gymnasium,[17] the Hellenic and Hellenized element in the μητροπόλεις or urban centres of the νομοί, whose distinguishing trait was the Greek education obtained in the γυμνάσιον. A third division was that of the ordinary Greeks not members of organized communities. Of the Greek population of Egypt, no one doubts that the entire

[13] Articles 5, 6, 40, 49, 59.

[14] Articles 9, 13, 14, 15, 38, 39, 45, 46, 47, 50, 51.

[15] Cf. Articles 49 and 50, which obviously refer to the same group by the words Ἀλεξανδρεῖς and ἄστοι. See Reinach, *op. cit.* p. 16. Cf. also Lenel and Partsch, "Zum sog. Gnomon des *Idios Logos*," *Sitzb. d. Heidelberger Akad. d. Wissensch.* Jahrgang 1920, Abhandlung I. "Schon die Bezeichnung der alexandrinischen Stadtbürger als ἄστοι schlechtweg stammt schwerlich aus dem Lateinischen" (p. 7). Bickermann in the *Revue de Philologie*, I (LIII), (1927) 362–368, examines the meaning of the term ἄστοι and concludes that it is used of an inner circle of Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, a sort of aristocratic élite. "Nous pouvons donc, semble-t-il, tenir pour acquise la distinction entre les ἄστοι et les Ἀλεξανδρεῖς. Au IIIe s. av. J.-C., le dernier terme est simplement plus large que le premier, aux derniers temps des Lagides et sous les Césars, il embrasse une tout autre catégorie de personnes et de droits que l'expression antique: ἄστοι." If he is correct, here is a class within a class which is to be levelled legally if not socially by the grant of citizenship. Bickermann's identification of the ἄστοι with οἱ ἐφηβευκότες is accepted by Meyer, *Sitzb. d. Preuss. Akad., phil.-hist. Kl.*, XXVI (1928), 428.

[16] Plin. *ad Trai.* 6: admonitus sum . . . debuisse me ante ei Alexandrinam civitatem impetrare, deinde Romanam, quoniam esset Aegyptius.

[17] Article 44.

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body received the Roman citizenship through the grant of Caracalla, so that this whole class ceased to exist after 212.

Below the Greeks stood the native Egyptians.[18] About this class discussion has waxed particularly hot.[19] It has been claimed by most scholars that the native Egyptians belonged to the group of *deditícii*, alleged to be excluded by the Giessen fragment from the grant of citizenship. The doctoral thesis of Bickermann brings satisfactory proof that they were not excluded by the terms of the Edict. In all the documents from 213–268 that are capable of giving evidence on the matter, the names of Egyptians appear with the *gentilicium* "Aurelius," which was assumed in honor of Caracalla who gave them their status as Romans.[20] Thus a third great group mentioned in the Γνώμων ceased to have a separate legal existence after the promulgation of the Edict.

But our document shows certain classes inferior even to the Egyptians. These are the inhabitants of the littoral to the west of the Nile, the people of Paraetonion,[21] and of Krene,[22]

[18] Articles 38, 41, 43–55, 67, 69.

[19] Mommsen, *Hermes* XVI (1881), 474–477. Wilcken, *Hermes* XXVII (1892), 295–296. Meyer, *Das Heerwesen der Ptolemäer und Römer* (1900), pp. 142 ff. Wilcken in Rostowzew, *Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Kolonates* (1910), pp. 220 ff. Mitteis und Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie*, Band II, Hälfte I (1912), pp. 288–289. Bry, *L'Édit de Caracalla de 212 d'après le papyrus 40 de Giessen* (*Études d'histoire juridique offertes à P. F. Girard*, 1912), pp. 18 ff. Balog, *Ueber das Alter der Ediktskommentare des Gaius* (1912), pp. 112 ff. G. Segrè, *Atti della soc. it. per il prog. delle scienze*, 7ª Riunione, Siena (1913), pp. 1013–1016. Stuart Jones, *op. cit.* pp. 29–30. G. Segrè, *Bull. dell' Istituto di Diritto Romano*, XXXII (1922), 211. Kübler, *Geschichte des Römischen Rechts* (1925), p. 227. Capocci, *op. cit.* pp. 93–123. Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and Ec. History*, p. 369, and notes to ch. 9, no. 37. G. Segrè, *L'editto di Caracalla sulla concessione della cittadinanza romana e il papiro Giessen 40 I* (*Studi in onore di Silvio Perrozi*, 1926), pp. 200 ff. Meyer, *Zeitschrift der Savigny- St.* XLVI (1926), 264–267. Siber, *Römisches Recht in Grundzügen für die Vorlesung* (1926), I, pp. 41 f, p. 42, n. 3. Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire* (1926), p. 53, and Document 192, pp. 547 ff. with comment.

[20] Bickermann, *op. cit.* pp. 30–32: "Schon die erste Generation nach Caracalla (213–268) *ausnahmslos* in den beweiskräftigen Texten den Namen "Aurelius" führt, d. h., dass *alle Bewohne Aegyptens* durch die Const. Ant. das Bürgerrechterhalten haben," p. 32. Cf. A. Segrè, *Rivista di Filologia*, N.S. IV (1926), 474.

[21] Article 57.

[22] Articles 11, 12.

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and the islanders.[23] At the bottom of the scale are the strangers, ξένοι,[24] a term applied to all persons belonging to nationalities different from those which formed the sedentary population of the province as described in the four classes already named. Prominent among the ξένοι our document names the Syrians,[25] and the ἀλλόφυλοι,[26] who may perhaps be indigenous Libyans. We have as yet no means of determining if these various peoples received Roman citizenship in 212.

These then were the classes of the population of Egypt whose existence is implied by the provisions of the Γνώμων. What the Γνώμων actually tells us is the system of penalties and prohibitions which maintained to a nicety the distinctions between the classes. It will be seen that some of the provisions correspond with the usual practices of Roman law, but that the majority show a wide divergence from it.[27] The granting of citizenship to the population of the country, by making the inhabitants subject to the provisions of the Roman code, did away with these divergences and was a very important measure of simplification.[28]

II

The first group of provisions in the Γνώμων to be eliminated by the universal grant of citizenship comprises the sections regarding the false usurpation of class. Article 40 lists, as under the jurisdiction of the prefect, cases concerning the illegal introduction of anyone into the Alexandrian citizenship, a barrier which illegitimate children of Alexandrians would attempt to storm. Article 43 rules against an Egyptian attempting to secure Roman citizenship by falsely registering

[23] Article 48.

[24] Articles 12, 13.

[25] Article 51.

[26] Article 57.

[27] Cf. Lenel und Partsch, *op. cit.*

[28] The legal distinctions were abolished by Caracalla's Edict, but it is well known that social distinctions made their appearance *within* the Roman citizenship in the course of the third century. While outside the scope of this paper, the question may be raised whether the system of classes (castes) is a response to the social layers previously existing among the "aliens."

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his father after death as a Roman. The method abuses the system of state registration of deaths current in Egypt to effect a change of class by false entry on government records. The attempt if detected involved the confiscation of one-quarter of the property of the offending parties. But it was possible for an Egyptian to proceed by easier stages to better his position. He might try to enter the select class of the Greeks, known as *οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου*, by having his father declare him a former ephebe (*ὡς ἐφηβευκό[τ]α*) and thereby secure for him the right to serve in the army which was closed to Egyptians, or exemption or attenuation of the capitation. Article 44 punished the ambitious father by the confiscation of one-sixth of his goods.

Another method of passing into a higher class was to assume a false status in a contract which had an official character. Article 42, which punishes such offenders and their accomplices with the confiscation of one-quarter of their goods, must have been peculiar to Egypt and was to disappear with the coming of citizenship for all classes.

Service in the army opened a number of possible approaches to the Roman citizenship, and it is quite natural to find fences erected along this avenue. Article 53 lists the Egyptian wife of a soldier who has received the *honesta missio*, and is therefore a Roman, as committing a usurpation of class if she assumes the status of Roman. A Greek who had served in the army was given Roman citizenship after honorable discharge, but one who assumed the status without the *honesta missio* was punished, according to Article 56, by the confiscation of one quarter of his goods.

Numerous provisions included in articles 58–68 concern infractions of the census law of Egypt, which required a general enrollment of the population (*λαογραφία*) every fourteen years to determine the responsibility for the head tax. We see by these that only Romans and Alexandrians were excused from the necessity of declaring themselves, and even they were obliged to declare the members of their household

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that came under the provisions of the law. While very probably the registration would be maintained after Caracalla's Edict, for slaves were registered according to Article 60 and the convenience of the measure would recommend it, it ceased to be the basis for class distinction with the admission of the Egyptians to citizenship.

III

By far the most numerous group of provisions in the code of the *Idiologos* bears upon marriages between the various classes of the population. Mixed marriages seem in general to have been prohibited in Egypt with the natural result that they became frequent [29] and gave the *Idiologos* no little concern, for they involved infractions of both the Roman law and the local laws of the province. Let us consider, separately, first the articles dealing with the Romans, then those dealing with the Alexandrians or ἀστοί. The Egyptians will prove to be involved through intermarriage with members of these two classes.

Two articles, 39 and 46, deal with marriages between Romans and persons of another class. In such a case as this where the *ius connubi* was not held by one party, there could, from the point of view of the Roman, be no marriage (cf. συνελθόντων, Art. 39). But it would be a *matrimonium iuris gentium*. Gaius I, 78 explains the operation of the Minician Law in such a case—the child takes the *conditio deterior* of the parents. But Articles 39 and 46 both deal with cases in which Romans have married with individuals of a lower class in ignorance of their status. Here the Γνώμων is more severe than Gaius, who in I, 67–68 mentions a *senatus consultum* which allows "causam erroris probare" and the admittance of the peregrine wife or husband and son to Roman citizenship. The Γνώμων in this case follows slavishly the provisions of the *Lex Minicia*, though Article 46 admits that in some instances Roman fathers have obtained the Roman status for their children. The use of the phrase μετὰ τοῦ ἀνευθύνους εἶναι

[29] Articles 11–13, 38, 39, 45–52, 57.

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would imply that these marriages out of class were in principle punishable in Egypt. Article 52 seems, however, as it stands, to permit a Roman to have an Egyptian wife. Reinach is inclined in this instance to insert the Lord Chancellor's arbitrary "not" and read οὐκ ἐξόν,[30] and indeed this seems more consonant with Articles 46 and 49. It is quite safe to assert that the administration of Egypt in 149 A.D. showed itself unusually severe in the case of these marriages of Romans out of class in accordance with the *ius gentium*.

Interesting to note is the fact that three provisions of the Code of the *Idiologos*, Articles 24–26, reinforce the *Lex Julia et Papia Poppaea*, stipulating the loss of the wife's dowry in the case of a *matrimonium impar* between Romans. The administration of Egypt showed itself more rapacious than elsewhere, for the dowry, which, according to Ulpian,[31] lapsed at the death of the wife, here does not return to her family but is gathered in by the fiscus.[32] Even a well-known constitution of Caracalla was not so severe as the Γνώμων, for by that [33] "caduca fisco vindicantur; sed servato iure antiquo liberis et parentibus." The general grant not only reduced enormously the chances of such mixed marriages but also involved, in all probability, the cancellation of special anomalies due to local ordinances.

Before we pass to the provisions governing the inter-class marriages of Alexandrians, we must consider the articles regarding testamentary rights of the Romans. In the matter of making testaments, Article 8, which states that codicils in Greek, though sanctioned by the text of the Roman will, were void, reveals the adherence of the Γνώμων to the provision of Roman law mentioned in Gaius II, 281: item legata Graece scripta non valent; fideicommissa vero valent. But this

[30] Reinach, *op. cit.* p. 29.

[31] *Reg.* XVI, 4.

[32] Cf. Reinach, *op. cit.* p. 37: "On aurait pu supposer qu'elle [la dot] faisait retour aux héritiers de la femme." This opinion is opposed by Seckel-Meyer, *op. cit.* p. 437, but apparently on inadequate grounds, since in the text of Ulpian, XVI, 4, I do not find the words of their quotation "fisco vindicatur."

[33] Ulpian, *Reg.* XVII, 2.

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prohibition of Roman law must inevitably have disappeared after Caracalla's Edict, when Greeks all over the Roman world became Roman citizens but would continue to write their wills in Greek, as they had done earlier under their own local laws.[34] The presence of local laws in Egypt, by which Greeks and even Egyptians had the right to make valid wills, is implied by a number of articles of the Γνώμων.[35] That these laws affected only the classes for which they were designed is evident from Article 18, which states that a Roman could not leave a bequest or trust to a Greek, a prohibition we might expect from Gaius II, 285. Thus the administrative official in Egypt such as the *Idiologos* had to be acquainted with systems of law made for each of the important classes of the population. With the gift of citizenship by Caracalla, the Roman, as well as the heretofore peregrine Greek, gained greater freedom in testamentary matters.

IV

We now turn to the provisions of the Γνώμων which refer to Ἀλεξανδρεῖς and ἀστοί, terms which we have seen applied to the citizens of the capital, Alexandria. The attitude assumed by the Code toward marriages of this group with Romans has already been set forth; we have now to examine the restrictions under which Alexandrians were placed with regard to native Egyptians.

For an Alexandrian to take an Egyptian wife meant a transgression of the city law,[36] since the fiscus acquired a right to a part, if not to the whole of his estate on death (Art. 45). The children, following the *conditio deterior*, would be Egyptians unless the *causa erroris* were proved, in which case the children would be Alexandrians like their father (Art. 46). This was a more lenient ruling than that of Article 39 men-

[34] Cf. Reinach, *op. cit.* p. 54.

[35] Articles 5, 6, 7, 10, 14, 15, 18, 19; cf. Gaius II, 14.

[36] Yet since Hadrian's time the Ἀντινοεῖς, citizens of Antinoupolis, had the *ius connubi* with Egyptians (ἐπιγαμία πρὸς Αἰγυπτίους). Cf. Wilcken, *Chrest.* Nr. 27; Kühn, *Antinoopolis*, pp. 119 f. Here then is still another complication, not indicated by the Γνώμων, to be removed by Caracalla's Edict.

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tioned above, for the marriage of a Roman with an Alexandrian or Egyptian woman left the children in the *conditio deterior* in spite of the *causa erroris*. Similarly, the Alexandrian woman, who married an Egyptian in ignorance, Article 47 does not regard as responsible, and allows the issue, if their birth is declared, to have ἡ πολιτεία, Alexandrian citizenship. Even in the case of marriage with full knowledge of her husband's class between a lady of Alexandria and an Egyptian, the Γνώμων shows itself less severe than Roman law, for it is content with declaring the children Egyptian while allowing them to inherit from both parents (Art. 38). If, however, an ἀστή should descend still further and marry a ξένος, the children would be strangers and would not inherit from their mother (Art. 13). It can easily be imagined how greatly the chances of distress and calamity were lessened when Romans, Alexandrians, and natives were permitted to intermarry freely as was the case when they were all alike citizens of Rome.

Articles 5 and 6, dealing with testamentary dispositions of Alexandrians, are particularly noticeable for their divergence from the provisions regarding Romans. Article 5 reads: "Testamentary bequests by an Alexandrian to persons incapable of receiving them return to the legitimate heirs, if the latter are alive and claim them." This indicates the operation of a civil code, for the spirit of the Γνώμων in the case of *caduca* of Romans shows that such bequests of a Roman to *incapaces* would be seized by the imperial fiscus. Article 6 limits the amount an Alexandrian may leave his wife to not more than one-quarter of his fortune if they are childless, and to not more than the son's share if they have issue. We learn from Ulpian[37] that the Roman wife, if childless, received one-tenth. Thus childlessness favored comparatively the Alexandrian wife, whereas, if there were children, the Alexandrian wife was less favored than the Roman, because the latter could then take all save the statutory one-fourth reserved for the children.[38]

[37] *Reg.* xv, De Decimis.

[38] Just. *Inst.* II, 18, 6.

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In the matter of making wills, Alexandrians were under two disabilities from which Romans did not suffer. An Alexandrian could not, so Article 14 indicates, leave more than 500 drachmae capital, or more than 5 drachmae monthly income to a freedman, whereas a Roman was at liberty to institute as his heir either slave or freeman.[39] Alexandrian women (also freedwomen) had not the right to make wills, according to Article 15, whereas the Roman *ingenua* had had that right since Hadrian,[40] and the *libertina* had possessed it even before that time.

These provisions regarding the Alexandrians in the Γνώμων show a marked variance between the law of the city and the usual Roman law,[41] and the difficulty which officials found in applying the two kinds indicates the need out of which not only this Γνώμων but the still more radical solution of Caracalla grew.

V

We must not slight an important group of provisions of the Γνώμων, that dealing with the freedmen of Romans and Alexandrians. In the case of freedmen of Romans we find the usual categories: those who possess complete liberty, the Junian Latins, and the dediticians, about all of whom the provisions of the Code agree with what we find in Gaius, save that the fisc in Egypt showed itself more greedy than elsewhere. Legacies, for instance, of all freedmen who have not obtained full Roman liberty are confiscated,[42] instead of being returned to the patron and his heirs as we might expect from Gaius.[43]

The freedmen and freedwomen of Alexandrians, however, fall under the jurisdiction of the city law which is here again

[39] Gaius II, 185.

[40] Gaius I, 115a; II, 112, 113.

[41] We have already noted divergences of native Egyptian law. Cf. Lenel und Partsch, *op. cit.* p. 8: "Was uns nun das Schriftstück im einzelnen überliefert, das ist zum Teil römisches, zum Teil alexandrinisch-griechisches, zum Teil ägyptisches Landrecht."

[42] Article 22.

[43] III, 56.

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at variance with the Roman law on several points. According to Gaius III, 46, the *Lex Papia* gave the daughter of the patron both testamentary and intestate claim on the estate of a freedman who died without children. Article 9 of the Γνώμων includes only the patron and his sons as heirs to the intestate freedman without children, and furthermore contains the clause that these must file a claim, or the fisc takes all. According to Gaius III, 41, the adoptive son, wife *in manu*, or daughter-in-law has a share in the property of a freedman who dies intestate. None of these is mentioned in the Code of the *Idiologos* in reference to the ἀπελεύθεροι ἀστῶν.

A general provision [44] covering all freedmen restricts the legacies of freedmen to their own class, that is, presumably, to Romans, or to Alexandrians. This is the logical consequence of the strict caste system.

Articles 14 and 15 both show differences from the Roman law, in that the amount of capital or monthly pension that could be willed by an Alexandrian to a freedman was limited, and that the *libertae* of Alexandrians had not the right to make wills. Of the first restriction there appears no trace in Roman law; with regard to the *testamentifactio activa* of *libertae*, Gaius [45] seems to indicate that the right was possessed subject to the *auctoritas* of the patron, unless the *liberta* had four children, in which case she possessed the right absolutely.

These differences between Roman and Alexandrian law, together with such articles as 49 and 50 which imply prohibition of marriage between *liberti* of Alexandrians and Egyptians, show complications which were superimposed upon the class complications already numerous enough in the case of the freeborn. After the Edict of Caracalla all freedmen and freedwomen were bound to be treated according to Roman law, and the relief to the courts and to the individuals concerned must have been considerable.[46]

[44] Article 10.

[45] III, 44. Cf. Ulpian, *Reg.* XXIX, 3.

[46] In the case of soldiers, the Γνώμων indicates a restriction of *testamentifactio* which prevailed in Egypt (article 34), but not generally in the other provinces.

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Conclusion

The results of the Edict of Caracalla, as we have been enabled to trace them through a study of the Code of the *Idiologos*, lead us to modify the conception of the measure held by Dio and the majority of historians since his time. While it is true that additional income was expected from the new citizens, the framer of the Edict must have contemplated an actual loss of revenue from the curtailing of the activity of the *Idiologos*. For of the many cases concerning status and marriage that had come under his jurisdiction, only those affecting slaves and freedmen remained after the population of Egypt became citizens. It is more than probable that he continued to exist as a religious official.[47] A number of articles of the Γνώμων lend color to this view.

But something far more noteworthy than the financial change is evident from the provisions of the Γνώμων. After seeing the complications of social status that it implies, one can hardly imagine a more radical measure than was the Constitution which swept them all away. Egypt was a country in which these distinctions had been part of the tradition of centuries. The barriers were indeed beginning to crumble, and the Γνώμων shows the attempts of the less privileged classes to force themselves into the more favored groups. We cannot argue that the step was taken blindly by Caracalla. He was himself a provincial and was well aware of the inequalities which existed in the population of the provinces. His father had begun the process of reform and simplification; his measures show a disregard of tradition and a carefully thought out plan for the systematization of control throughout the

I have not thought it a matter to include in the text of the paper, since it seems to be covered by the phrase of a rescript of Alexander Severus (*Cod. Just.* VI, 21, 5); "nisi lex specialiter eos prohibuit." Reinach (*op. cit.* p. 95) believes the special law existed for Egypt. (But cf. Seckel-Meyer, *op. cit.* p. 444.)

[47] Cf. Jones, *op. cit.* p. 31: "Is it possible that, owing to the far-reaching reorganization of the imperial finances by Septimius Severus and the lightening of the task of registration brought about by the Edict of Caracalla, the ἴδιος λόγος was now mainly concerned with ecclesiastical matters, and that his office was regularly combined with that of the High Priest? It seems not unlikely."

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empire.[48] The granting of universal citizenship was the logical outcome of these measures.

The most important field in which the administration of the empire could be simplified was the legal one. The influence of the work of the great jurists of the period, Gaius, Ulpian, and Papinian, cannot have been lost upon Caracalla, however much he may have vented his personal rage upon one of them. Jurists were his constant advisers, and they brought to the study of Roman law an exact knowledge of the perfected codes of the Eastern Empire, from Asia, Phoenicia, and Syria, where they had received their training. The legal revolution which the Edict of Caracalla must have produced in these countries can have been scarcely less than that which we have observed in Egypt. While the measure does, it is true, bring the Romans down to the level of the provincials and so sets aside the primacy of Rome which had been carefully maintained through the first two centuries of the Empire, the Edict which makes the world a city ensures the permanence of the system of Roman law, one of Rome's greatest contributions to civilization. It realizes not only the ideal of the jurists but the prophecy of the imperial poet when the work of conquest is complete and the Roman addresses himself to the task: pacis imponere morem.

[48] Cf. Capocci, *op. cit.* p. 70; ". . . bisogna riflettere che la dinastia dei Severi ha avuto del potere del Cesare romano una concezione speciale. Caracalla e il suo 'Consilium' con l'estensione del diritto di cittadinanza romana obbedirono in particolar modo a tendenze che s'erano già manifestate da parecchio tempo, ma specialmente sotto gli ultimi Antonini del secondo secolo e sotto Settimo Severo, il quale si sforzò di cancellare le particolarità locali, di far scomparire le diversità d'ordine politico e amministrativo, che cioè, in una parola, cercò di unificare politicamente e giuridicamente l'Impero; cosa che poi fece il figlio suo." But Capocci upholds the fiscal reason, which no one can deny, and the desire of Caracalla to gain adherents to oppose the upper classes at Rome.

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IV.—*Some Nouns of Relationship in Lycian and Hittite*

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Herodotus closes his account of the Lycians as follows (I. 173):

ἓν δὲ τόδε ἴδιον νενομίκασι καὶ οὐδαμοῖσιν ἄλλοισι συμφέρονται ἀνθρώπων· καλέουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων ἑωυτοὺς καὶ οὐκὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων. εἰρομένου δὲ ἑτέρου τὸν πλησίον τίς εἴη, καταλέξει ἑωυτὸν μητρόθεν καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνανεμεῖται τὰς μητέρας. καὶ ἢν μέν γε γυνὴ ἀστὴ δούλῳ συνοικήσῃ, γενναῖα τὰ τέκνα νενόμισται· ἢν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀστός, καὶ ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν, γυναῖκα ξείνην ἢ παλλακὴν ἔχῃ, ἄτιμα τὰ τέκνα γίνεται.

The sole trace of this "Mutterrecht" that has yet been found in the Lycian epitaphs is the frequent occurrence of the word *tuhes*,[1] which a bilingual inscription (*Tituli Lyciae* 25) translates into Greek as ἀδελφιδοῦς in one occurrence and as ἀδελφιδῆ in another; for it is well known that, where "Mutterrecht" prevails, nephews and nieces may be under the control of a maternal uncle. Accordingly it is thought to lend some support to Herodotus's statement when a number of Lycian epitaphs identify the builder of a tomb as 'Chssbezẹ, son of Krupssi, and nephew of Purihimeti'; 'Ahqqadi, son of Pizibidi, and nephew of Hm̃prąmi'; or the like.

Now, if we are going to follow Herodotus, we must understand that, when Chssbezẹ calls himself "the son of Krupssi," he means to say that Krupssi is his mother. But, oddly enough, scholars assume that this and other such phrases are to be interpreted precisely as similar expressions in Greek epitaphs; everyone has supposed that Krupssi was the father of Chssbezẹ. Since Lycian has no formal mark of the feminine gender, the form of this and other names does not determine

[1] I use the system of transliteration employed by Thomsen, Torp, and Pedersen. The one introduced by Kalinka, in the *Tituli Lyciae*, is misleading.

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sex; and I do not know of other evidence that can weigh against Herodotus's explicit statement.

There is, to be sure, one Lycian passage where a man is certainly designated as the son of his father. The Xanthian stele was set up by a man who is described in Lycian (*T.L.* 44 a 1 f., according to Torp's certain restoration) as [*Xerẹi Ar*]-*paχχuh tid*[*eimi*], and in the Greek epigram on the same monument (c 24) he appears as [ ]ις ὅδε Ἀρπάγο(υ) υἱός. Harpagos is a Persian name, and the man here designated is probably the satrap who appears in Herodotus, VI. 28–30. It is not strange that a Persian called himself the son of his father even in a Lycian epitaph.

In two other cases we have Greek translations of such Lycian phrases, namely *T.L.* 56: *Iktta Hlah tideimi* = Ἴκτας Λᾶ, and 117: *Sidariya P*[*ar*]*m*[*ẹna*]*h tideimi* = Σιδάριος Παρμένοντος υἱός. In the Greek inscriptions one inclines to assume that we have the father's name, and, besides, it is scarcely possible that Παρμένων could be a woman's name. But Lycians who had come under Greek influence enough to use that language in their epitaphs may have adopted the Greek custom of calling a man the son of his father, even though the older practice was as Herodotus says.

Aside from *tuhes* 'nephew, niece' there are three Lycian nouns of relationship whose meaning is fixed by bilingual inscriptions, namely *lada* 'wife,' *tideimi* 'son, daughter, descendant,' and *kbatra* 'daughter.' The meaning of several others has been inferred from the context and from the natural assumption that the nearest relatives are most likely to be mentioned. The commonest of these words, *ẹni*, is usually interpreted as 'father,' although Torp thought it meant 'brother' or 'sister'; but, if we accept Herodotus's testimony, the word for 'mother' ought to be the most common noun of relationship on the Lycian monuments.

Probably we could never be quite sure of the meaning of *ẹni* if we had to depend upon the Lycian documents alone; but the recent discovery that Lycian is closely related to

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Hittite gives us the needed clue.[2] Since Hittite *a* may appear in Lycian as *e* (Hitt. *apaš* = Lyc. *ebe* 'this'; Hitt. *na-tta* = Lyc. *ne* 'not'), we may identify *ẹni* with Hitt. *annaš* 'mother.' The etymology is strengthened by the observation that one of the so-called "nursery words" (*Lallnamen*) which yielded numerous personal names throughout Asia Minor is *anna*.[3] Lycian ought to contain this word, and *ẹni* is the only possibility so far discovered, unless it be *χ̃na*, on which see below.

The meaning 'mother' fits all occurrences of *ẹni* at least as well as either of the others suggested, and in several places it yields a better sense. In *T.L.* 86 a man is said to have built a tomb *hrppi atli ehbi sey-ẹni ehbi* 'for himself and his mother'; which is more natural than 'for himself and his father,' if "Mutterrecht" prevailed. In *T.L.* 52 and 54, *sey-ẹni* follows a personal name. The author of *T.L.* 95 built a tomb *hrppẹni ehbi se tuhe ehbiye* 'for his mother and his nieces' (or 'nephews')—precisely as Herodotus would have had him do.

The word *ẹni* occurs several times in the puzzling phrase, *ẹni qlahi ebiyehi*, which designates a person or corporation concerned with inflicting punishment for violating a tomb. Imbert[4] understood the phrase to mean 'the father of this people,' *i.e.* 'the head of the state'; but Torp[5] has shown that *qla* must mean 'ruler, commander, chief' or the like. This interpretation led him to the unsatisfactory conclusion that *ẹni* in this phrase is not the same word as the noun of relationship, whether this meant 'father' or 'brother.' I see no escape from following him if *ẹni* has either of those meanings, but the meaning 'mother' yields an excellent sense here as elsewhere.

[2] Cf. Kretschmer, *Glotta*, XIV. 310–319 (1925); Deeters, *P.-W. Realiexikon*, XXVI. 2290; and especially Pedersen, *Litteris* V. 157–159 (1928). The abundant evidence for this relationship has never been adequately presented, but this is not the place to undertake that task.

[3] See Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache*, p. 344.

[4] *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, VIII. 465 (1894).

[5] *Lykische Beiträge*, V. 3–9 = *Skrifter Udgivne af Videnskabsselskabet i Christiania*, 1901, *Historisk-filosofisk Klasse*, 5.

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T.L. 56 is a bilingual whose two versions correspond fairly well in their first sentence, while the second sentence of the Greek is supposed to have no connection with the Lycian inscription.[6] It is quite clear that the Lycian and the Greek are not identical (there are several minor variations even in the first sentence), but I am convinced that they are roughly equivalent throughout. The text is as follows:

ebẹñne prñnavu me ti [*p*]*rñnavatẹ*
Iktta Hlah tideimi hrppi ladi ehbi
se tideimi ehbiye. se iye ti edi tike mẹte
me ne qasttu ẹni qlahi ebiyehi se vedri Vehñtezi.

Ἴκτας Λᾶ Ἀντιφελλίτης τουτὶ τὸ μνῆμα ἠργάσατο αὐτῶ[ι]
[τε] καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις· ἐὰν δέ τις ἀδικήσηι ἢ ἀγοράσ[ι]
τὸ μνῆμα, ἡ Λητὼ αὐτὸν ἐπιτ[ρί]ψ[ε]ι.

I translate the Lycian version: 'This building Iktta, son of Hla, built for his wife and his (? *or* her?) children. And to them who (ever) does any harm, him shall punish the Mother of the Lord of this place and the city of Antiphellus.'

The imperative *qasttu* matches the Greek future ἐπιτρίψει. This Lycian verb occurs elsewhere in the meanings 'command' an army, and 'compel' to pay.[7] I am not convinced by Meriggi's[8] ingenious argument designed to show that *ti* is a demonstrative rather than a relative, as all others have thought since Thomsen's masterly article.[9] My interpretation of the crucial phrase, *ẹni qlahi ebiyehi*, is based upon the assumption that it must somehow correspond to Λητώ in the Greek version, and upon Torp's demonstration that *qla* is a rough equivalent of Greek ἄναξ, an epithet more frequently applied to Apollo than to any other god. The identification can stand, however, even if one prefer to translate *qla* by *populus*, as Imbert did, or by *gens*, as Meriggi[10] does. In that case the phrase will indicate that Leto was the divine

[6] See Thomsen, *Études Lyciennes*, 41, f.n. 1 = *Samlede Afhandlinger*, III. 403.
[7] See Torp, *Lyk. Beitr.* I. 39 = *S.U.V.C.* 1898, 4.
[8] *Indog. Forsch.* XLVI. 151–182 (1928).
[9] *Études Lyc.* = *Sam. Afhand.* III. 355–441.
[10] *Indog. Forsch.* XLIV. 3; XLVI. 160.

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ancestor of the community or of the family; which would not be strange in a matriarchal society.

Our word occurs also (*T.L.* 134) in the phrase, *ęni mahanahi*, which we cannot hope to understand until we know what *mahana* means. If Torp [11] was right in thinking the word a collective term meaning 'priesthood,' *ęni mahanahi* will be 'the mother of the priesthood,' *i.e.* a goddess who is the mythical ancestress of the priesthood, or who is the mistress of the priesthood. One naturally thinks of the Magna Mater and her votaries.

In an obscure passage of the Xanthian stele (*T.L.* 44 a 29) occurs the phrase, *ęnehi se χ̃nahñ*[ ], where the third word (if the last letter, which no longer stands on the stone, is correct) is a case form of the genitival adjective from *χ̃na*. The word, *χ̃na*, must elsewhere be interpreted as a noun of relationship, and this passage suggests a noun that may naturally be coupled with *ęni* 'mother.' There can therefore be little doubt that we should identify it with Hitt. *hannaš* 'grandmother.' Thomsen's [12] interpretation of *χ̃na* as 'mother' was merely a corollary of his mistaken understanding of *ęni* as 'father.'

Another word of relationship, so similar to the two last mentioned that it must belong to the same sphere, is *nęni*, which has been interpreted as 'brother' or 'sister,' but which, as Sundwall [13] has shown, is defined for us by the Greek lexicographers. Their notices are as follows:

Pollux, III, 22: . . . ὁ δὲ μητρὸς ἀδελφὸς θεῖος ἢ μητράδελφος ἢ μήτρως ἢ νέννος (cf. *id.* III, 20).

Hesychius: νάνναν· τὸν τῆς μητρὸς ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀδελφόν. οἱ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἀδελφήν.

νάννη· μητρὸς ἀδελφήν.

νέννος· <μητρὸς> ἀδελφός.

[11] *Lyk. Beitr.* 4. 26 f.n. 1 = *S.U.V.C.* 1901, 3.

[12] *Études Lyc.* 59 f. = *Sam. Afhand.* III. 421 f.

[13] See Imbert, *Mém. Soc. Ling.* X. 50, 53 (1898); Torp, *Lyk. Beitr.* 4. 4 = *S.U.V.C.* 1901, 3; Sundwall, *Die Einheimischen Namen der Lykier*, 273 = *Klio*, 1913.

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Eustathius, 971. 26 ff.: . . . ὡς φησί τις ἀποσημειωσάμενος ὀνόματα συγγενικά, ὃς λέγει καὶ ὅτι . . . καὶ ὅτι ὁ θεῖος πατρὸς ἢ μητρὸς ἀδελφός, ὁ καὶ νέννος.

Therefore we may be sure that *nẹni* means 'mother's brother *or* sister.' The variation in the first vowel of the Greek word is a reflection of the extensive variation between *a* and *e* in Lycian and other Asianic languages. The lexicographers do not tell us to what language or dialect νέννος and νάννη belong, and the reason is clear from the geographical distribution of the personal names which contain this stem.[14] They occur not only in Lycia, but everywhere in western Asia Minor, and also in Rhodes, Cos, Carpathos, Larisa, and Athens. The common noun itself has turned up in an inscription from Crete (*Sammlung der Griechischen Dialektinschriften* 4961 b), one from Thera (*I.G.* XII. 1628), and in one from Thrace (*C.I.G.* 1994 g). We may therefore infer that our word belonged to most, if not all, of the Asianic languages, and that it came by borrowing into several Greek dialects. In fact no other one of these odd Anatolian nouns of relationship is so well attested over so wide a territory. The explanation, no doubt, is to be found in the peculiar importance of the uncle in a matriarchal society.

Hittite also has a word *nannaš*, whose form corresponds to Lycian *nẹni* precisely as *annaš* does to *ẹni*; but, unfortunately, the meaning of *nannaš* is not clear. It occurs in the colophon of the thirteenth tablet of the *Annals* of Muršiliš,[15] which runs thus: DUB 13. KÁM *ŠÁ* ^{I}*Mur-ši-*[*i-li* . . .]^{LÚ}*na-an-na-aš* NU.T[IL], 'The thirteenth tablet of Muršiliš . . . , the *nannaš*. Not finished.' Evidently the name of the scribe stood in the lacuna, and ^{LÚ}*nannaš* is a title or nickname. Hrozný suggested an identification with Greek νέννος, and now that Lycian has provided a connecting link, the suggestion is plausible; but the meaning 'uncle' scarcely fits such a

[14] See Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, pp. 341–344.

[15] *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, II. 5 = *Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift*, II. 62.

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context. Probably we should assume here the meaning of Greek *νᾶνος, νάννος* 'dwarf,' which, in that case, is a by-form of *νέννος, νάννας* 'uncle.' We have seen that the variation between *α* and *ε* is in order in a loan-word from an Asianic language; so also is the variation between *ᾱν* and *ᾰνν*, since the Lycian word shows nasal vowel + *n*. The development of meaning from 'uncle' to 'dwarf' is in line with the half contemptuous, half affectionate use of words of relationship for menials; *e.g.* American English *uncle* and *mammy* for negro house servants.[16]

In the following passages the meanings here suggested for *ẹni, nẹni,* and *χñna* seem to support Herodotus's statement that the Lycians reckoned descent in the female line.

T. L. 8. *ebẹñne χupą meneprñnavatẹ Triyẹtezi. senepiyetẹ nẹney ehbiye setuhe.* 'This tomb Tripẹtezi built. And he assigned it to his uncles and nephews.' (Here and in the following *uncle* and *nephew* are to be understood as nouns of common gender.)

37. *ebẹñne χupą mẹneprñnavatẹ Mede epñnẹni ehbi Hm̃prąma seyatli.* 'This tomb Mede built for his uncle, Hm̃prąma, and himself.'

39. *ebẹñnẹ prñnavu me ti [p]rñnavatẹ Mẹmruvi Xñtenubeh tideimi hrppi esedeñnevi χñnahi ehbiehi se θurttąi lada.* 'This building Mẹmruvi, son of Chñtenubi, built for the relatives of his grandmother and (his) brothers' (?) wives.'

86. *ebẹñne prñnavą mẹ ti prñnavatẹ Erimñnuha Semuteh tideimi hrppi atli ehbi seyẹni ehbi.* 'This building Erimñnuha, son of Semuti, built for himself and his mother.'

89. *χupą ebẹñnẹ mẹnadẹ Hri[χam̃]na nẹne ehbiye. meiñtepitasñti ẹnehi Hriχam̃nah esedeñnevẹ.* 'This tomb Hricham̃na built for his uncles. Here they shall bury the relatives of the mother of Hricham̃na.'

95. . . . *hrppẹni ehbi setuhe ehbiye.* [ ] '. . . for his mother and his nephews.'

Since *neri* seems to be an approximate equivalent of *nẹni,* although the difference in form is not understood, we may cite also:

48. *ebẹñne χupą mẹtiprñnavatẹ Padrąma hrppineri set uhe.* 'This tomb Padrąma built for (his) uncles and nephews.'

[16] I cannot explain the phrase *nẹni qlahi ebiyehi* in *T.L.* 94; but, in view of the preceding lacuna, that is not strange.

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One must admit that many Lycian inscriptions do not have this matriarchal appearance. Very frequently the builder of the tomb provided for his children rather than for his nephews and nieces, *e.g.*

99. *Purihimetiti prñnavate Masasah tideimi χupą ebęñnę hrppi atli ehbi se tideime ehbiye.* 'Purihimeti, son of Masasa, built this tomb for himself and his children.'

Here one might, to be sure, assume that Purihimeti was a woman and the daughter of Masasa; but such an explanation is impossible in many inscriptions, such as:

102. *ebęñnę χupą męti prñnavatę Sχχutrazi. męne ñtepitęti Sχχutrazi se ladu ehbi se tideimis ehbis.* 'This tomb Schchutrazi built. And in it they shall lay Schchutrazi and his wife and his children.'

The only way to ascribe matriarchal customs to epitaphs of this type is to suppose that Schchutrazi was acting for his wife, possibly because she had no brother or because her brother had neglected his duty. But it is not necessary to find "Mutterrecht" in all the Lycian inscriptions. Greek language and Greek customs were making constant inroads in Lycia during the fifth and fourth centuries; Herodotus records only the ancient native practice, of which, if I am not mistaken, the epitaphs preserve abundant traces.

Ever since the announcement of Hrozný's discovery of the Indo-European affinities of Hittite, many scholars have been worried by the lack of Hittite cognates for the familiar Indo-European nouns of relationship. For it has long been held that nouns of relationship are among the words least likely to be given up by a community. In fact some have felt that these, the lower numerals, and the personal pronouns were pretty nearly the only safe basis for positing relationship between two languages. While the Hittite pronouns correspond rather well with those of the Indo-European languages, and the numerals, being almost entirely unknown, at least do not interfere with the Indo-European hypothesis, the

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names of relationship have seemed to be squarely opposed to it. Hittite *uvaš* 'son,' *attaš* 'father,' *annaš* 'mother,' *nannaš* 'uncle' (?), *huhhaš* 'grandfather,' and *hannaš* 'grandmother' do not appear, at least superficially, to be akin to anything Indo-European. I have shown, to be sure, (*Language*, IV, 163) that *huhhaš* is identical with Latin *avus*, and *hannaš* with Lat. *anus* 'old woman' and Old High German *ana* 'grandmother'; but the other four words just listed appear to be hopeless.

The difficulty is easily explained if we assume that the Hittites, like the Lycians, gave up the Indo-European method of reckoning descent in favor of the matriarchal method which they found in Asia Minor. So profound a revolution in the way of conceiving relationship might well be reflected in language. For example, the I.E. **pətḗr*, which means 'the parent who exercises complete mastery over me' scarcely applies to the genial but unimportant man who visits my *annaš*, that is, my mamma; I must rather call him by the pet-name *attaš*, which the children next door use under similar circumstances. If we ever learn anything of the languages which preceded Hittite and Lycian in Asia Minor we shall find in them also most of the words of relationship which we have been discussing.

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V.—*The Felicity of Infelix in Virgil's Aeneid*

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AT the very outset of the *Aeneid,* Virgil makes it clear, or seems to make it clear, that he is to sing of perilous deeds by field and flood. The theme he announces is the growth of Rome, her rise to power and glory. And in a sense this program as promised is carried out. A second Odysseus sails the seas. Another Ilion has to be subdued. Above all, it is Rome, her "imperium sine fine," the

> Romanos, rerum dominos, gentemque togatam

that receive ever recurring attention. Yet, though all this is true and more, though his

> ocean-roll of rhythm
> sound forever of Imperial Rome,

careful, sympathetic readers of the *Aeneid* soon discover considerably more than the introductory statements could possibly anticipate. They discover, what many a classical scholar too frequently forgets, that Virgil, whatever else he may offer in the way of narrative, history, or patriotic propaganda, is in reality a poet in his own right, a poet with the peculiar message of a poet.

The inability of Virgil to disclose at once the burden of his song is not surprising. Poets have rarely, if ever, been able to tell what their poetry is about, except through the medium of their poetry itself. Their work is generally as undefinable for them as it is for anyone else. As Edwin Arlington Robinson says in a quoted remark, "Poetry is a language that tells us, through a more or less emotional reaction, something that cannot be said. All real poetry, great or small, does this." Virgil, certainly, pours forth his soul with passionate intensity,

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yet the fullness of what is meant, as opposed to what is said, lies ofttimes beneath the surface unnoticed by the superficial observer.

Good poetry, like much good music, demands considerable effort of him who would understand and appreciate. This, though not generally accepted, is almost invariably true. To quote the English critic, Mr. I. A. Richards, "That it may take even a very serious and gifted reader years to master a good poet need surprise no one. Even with the help of all the commentators not a little of Shakespeare at his best still requires seven readings. It must be so, if the poet is not merely exploiting our ready-made feelings, but is weaving them into new patterns that have never existed before."

The opening lines of the *Aeneid* might well be likened to the exposition of a Bach fugue, in which the theme, the "subject," is announced at the outset and all that follows is based on that initial pronouncement. But the emotions that have called the composition into being, the emotions to which the composer has given artistic expression, are dependent upon quite another matter, *i.e.*, the way the basic melody is treated all the while that the composer complies with the theoretical, formal requirements of his "subject." In St. Anne's Fugue, for example, Bach uses the first line of the hymn, "Oh God, our help in ages past," as the basis for the three divisions of his composition, the three parts which the celebrated Ch. M. Widor looks upon as depicting the Father, the Son, and the Spirit. And whether or not this interpretation be accepted, there can be no doubting the fact that three distinct moods are effectively portrayed, although essentially the same subject forms the foundation for each one of the three. Just so, when Virgil announces his theme, he makes it known that he is treating a subject which Naevius, Ennius, Livy, Ovid, and other writers of *Aeneids* essayed with markedly different results. Hence it is the manner rather than the matter of the tale that is important.

Just what the motivation is in the case of Virgil seems

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difficult to determine. Scholars differ widely on this point,—a fact, however, which will not appear strange to him who holds that poetry reveals what, in any case, cannot be said. The chief difference in the attitude one frequently finds toward music and the attitude toward poetry is perhaps that inability to understand Bach or Brahms is frankly admitted, whereas any schoolboy or schoolboy's teacher feels capable of comprehending, usually through the medium of a prose rendering, the full meaning of Virgil's message. But, as we indicated above, this ability to appreciate requires considerable toil and trouble. And it is only natural perhaps to find that the teacher of Greek or Latin who sees in poetry nothing beyond definite statements of fact, who thinks that poetry, to be good, must be didactic rather than passionate, usually sees little of value in music or any other of the arts. In a word, he does not understand their language.

It is this language of poetical expression with which we are at present concerned. And we shall confine our attention chiefly to a single expression, a single word, which Virgil seems to use with unusual felicity and which represents recollected in tranquillity an emotion deeply felt by the poet, a matter that unquestionably lay close to his heart. This very word, *infelix*, was perhaps one of those that Tennyson had in mind when he wrote:

> All the charm of all the Muses
> often flowering in a lonely word.

An epithet used only sixty-seven times in Virgil's works (including the *Ciris* and *Lydia*), *infelix*, derives its importance from the fact that it becomes a gesture of artistic or poetical significance. Often given the meaning *unhappy* in vocabularies and translations, it is, of course, quite distinct from *miser*. As I noted in a previous paper,[1] *infelix* points to irrevocable doom, the unalterable decree of the Fates, and on the Mantuan's lips is no less than a passionate cry of sympathy. Its force is felt, even though it can scarcely ever

[1] *C.J.* XXIII, 539–542.

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be translated adequately. The mere presence of this word in any passage seems to indicate just where the poet's own real sympathies lie.

The *Aeneid,* suggested by Augustus and begun at his bidding, naturally evinces a patriotic purpose. And no one would deny that, in the glorification of Rome and Augustus, Virgil rises to the heights of poetic inspiration. Nevertheless, his spontaneous outburst of sympathy for the woes of humankind, the human interest with which he follows the fortunes of all his characters and makes us see in them a mirror of our own,—these tendencies seem to reveal to us more genuinely the inner spirit of the man. He sings eternally: "There is compassion for suffering and the sorrows of mortals touch the heart." This is the underlying motif that runs through the entire poem, no matter what subject is treated. His pity knows no bounds or restrictions. It is for all alike, Trojan or Rutulian, those of high degree or low. "Infelix" is intoned for all: Dido and Creusa; Priam, Priam's seed, and Trojan people; Ulysses and Achaemenides; Dares and Sergestus; Nisus and Euryalus; Theseus and Brutus; Cydon, Halaesus, and Liger, fighting for Turnus; Acron, Antores, and Acoetes supporting Aeneas; Amata, Lavinia, and Latinus; Camilla and Ufens; Pallas and Evander; Lausus and Mezentius; Juno, Juturna, and Turnus. *Pius Aeneas,* destined by decree of the Fates to be successful in his divine mission, can meet with only temporary reverses, but even so he elicits the poet's sympathy, as, for example, in the line (*Aen.* II, 772),

infelix simulacrum atque ipsius umbra Creusae,

in which *infelix*[2] applies not to Creusa, who is in no wise unhappy, but to Aeneas[3] doomed never to see his wife again in the flesh.

It is significant that Virgil applies *infelix* to Dido eight

[2] N. on II, 772 in Knapp's *Virgil:* there is nothing in this passage to prove Creusa unhappy. Hence the word gives the feeling with which Aeneas himself looked on the specter.

[3] *Ib.* 777–779.

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times, as opposed to four for Amata and her family, four for the Nisus-Euryalus episode, two for Ulysses, and one for each of thirty other characters. Its dramatic purpose in the tragic story of Dido can be seen when first it appears in connection with her name. Immediately following *infelix* is the explanatory phrase *pesti devota futurae.* Dido has previously been mentioned twelve times and the traditional story of the Tyrian queen almost completely unfolded. Now for the first time *infelix* characterizes Dido, thus revealing the artistic purpose of the poet. In the midst of joyous feasting of Trojan and Tyrian is sounded the discordant strain (I, 712),

praecipue infelix, pesti devota futurae,

as a prelude to the mechanical incident which implants love for Aeneas in the breast of Dido, the love that was destined to be her undoing. And again (I, 749), during the symposium just before Aeneas begins his tale of "Troy's last agony," the telling of which in books II and III transformed "deep draughts of love" into "sharp, slow-gathering pangs" of passionate love, *infelix Dido* sounds the note of pitiful doom, resembling very much in dramatic effect the warning cry of the chorus in Greek tragedy. But it must not be overlooked that *infelix Dido* owes its felicity in large measure to the mere sound of the words. The slow, impressive tread of spondees, the long quantity of the vowels, the repeated i- and d-sounds,—all make for effectiveness and accord well with the dramatic mood implied by the expression. The movement alone contrasts strikingly with the swift-moving dactyls and the anaphora in the following line, both of which depict the excited manner and utterance of Dido.

Near the beginning of the fourth book (68), the next stage in the dramatic development of the story is signalized by another appeal to the reader's sympathy in the words *infelix Dido.* Wavering between loyalty to Sychaeus and her increasing passion for Aeneas, Dido appeals to the Gods in sacrifice. But either misinterpreting or disregarding the mean-

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ing of the entrails she submits to the overpowering force of her blind passion, committed to a course that can only lead to tragic end. Of this the poet aptly reminds us in his words of sympathetic tenderness, *infelix Dido.* And his sympathy is all the more noteworthy, since Dido, by breaking the solemn oath she has just sworn, in a sense deserves her doom.

After love's consummation, when Aeneas decides to depart from Carthage and remains unmoved by all entreaties, Dido prays for death (IV, 450 f.):

> Tum vero infelix fatis exterrita Dido
> mortem orat.

Infelix would be expected at such a turn of events. *Fatis exterrita,* inserted between *infelix* and *Dido,* dramatically intensifies the force of the phrase. Dreams and portents confirm poor Dido in her resolve to die. A plan is devised. All preparations are made. But with the approach of night her resolve is weakened. Night's gracious calm and care-dispelling slumber find no place in her tortured frame (529–532):

> At non infelix animi Phoenissa, neque umquam
> solvitur in somnos, oculisve aut pectore noctem
> accipit; ingeminant curae, rursusque resurgens
> saevit amor, magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu.

The use of *infelix* here pathetically marks the last vain effort to resist inevitable doom. But there is no other solution. Every alternative that rises in Dido's distracted mind leads but to the impassioned cry (547):

> Quin morere, ut merita es ferroque averte dolorem.

The sight of Trojan fleet disappearing with even sails furnishes the final motivating incident that brings the story to its tragic close. Every vestige of hope is gone. And remorse, feeding the flames of her helpless rage, makes Dido exclaim (596):

> Infelix Dido, nunc te facta impia tangunt?

Nothing remains, except to curse Aeneas and die. The bitter

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realization of this is implied in the words *infelix Dido,* which are thus appropriately placed before her scornful taunts and imprecations (597–629).

As if in answer to her dying prayer, Aeneas well out to sea looks back upon the city walls, the *moenia* (v, 3–4),

> quae iam infelicis Elissae
> conlucent flammis.

And the words that follow (4–7) represent the Trojans pondering over the sight, very much in the manner of the chorus in Greek tragedy commenting upon some awful deed that occurs behind the scenes:

> quae tantum accenderit ignem
> causa latet; duri magno sed amore dolores
> polluto notumque, furens quid femina possit,
> triste per augurium Teucrorum pectora ducunt.

In the words *infelicis Elissae* Virgil echoes with deepest sympathy Dido's own pathetic phrase, *di morientis Elissae.*

The meeting of Aeneas and Dido in the underworld, while it is introduced in conformity with epic tradition, seems to interest Virgil most in the opportunity it gives him of setting forth the beauty and tenderness of human affection. "The sorrows of mortals touch the heart." Nor is the Trojan leader, *pius Aeneas,* unmoved. When he sees Dido wandering in the wood *recens a volnere,* he addresses her *dulci amore,* crying out with deep feeling and heartfelt pity (vi, 456–458):

> Infelix Dido, verus mihi nuntius ergo
> venerat exstinctam ferroque extrema secutam?
> Funeris heu tibi causa fui?

And he adds (458–466) in justification of his conduct:

> Per sidera juro,
> per superos et, si qua fides tellure sub ima est,
> invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi.
> Sed me jussa deum, quae nunc has ire per umbras,
> per loca senta situ cogunt noctemque profundam,
> imperiis egere suis; nec credere quivi
> hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem.

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Siste gradum teque aspectu ne subtrahe nostro.
Quem fugis? Extremum fato, quod te alloquor, hoc est.

But whether or not the hero wins our approbation, his words serve the artistic purpose of bringing out in clearer relief than has yet been done the woeful doom of Dido. The passionate exclamation, *Infelix Dido*, coming from the mouth of Aeneas, when the full significance of her fate finally dawns upon him, furnishes the last touch that the artist can add.

The story of Amata, Latinus's queen, has much in it to remind one of Dido. Amata, like the Phoenician queen, is *infelix*, destined to meet with inevitable doom. *Infelicis Amatae* recalls *infelicis Elissae* as the verse (VII, 376),

tum vero infelix, ingentibus excita monstris,

reminds one of that other (IV, 450),

Tum vero infelix fatis exterrita Dido.

The suffering of both, whether it be deserved or not, elicits the reader's sympathy. And at each step on the downward path of destiny, the poet interjects his pitiable cry, "Infelix!" When Latinus remains unmoved and Amata is filled with the serpent's venom, when she stirs up all the matrons to leave their homes in Bacchic frenzy, when she incorrectly assumes that Turnus is dead and deems herself the "guilty source," when the report of her death is spread through the city,—on each of these occasions significant *infelix* is heard. The tragedy of Amata reproduces on a smaller scale the main features of Dido's pathetic story.

Virgil's human interest is admirably shown also in the Nisus-Euryalus episode. In recounting the story of these two young hearts, he dwells with infinite tenderness on the noble impulses that motivate their action and bring them all their sorrow. At moments of great emotional intensity, *infelix* sounds the knell of doom. The fateful disappearance of Euryalus, Nisus's sight of comrade slain, the startling effect of a mother's grief, —all elicit this word of woe.

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Nisus and Euryalus, cut down in their youth, call to mind those other young men who suffered the selfsame fate. Pallas and Lausus are also *infelix* (X, 433–438):

> Hinc Pallas instat et urget,
> hinc contra Lausus, nec multum discrepat aetas,
> egregii forma, sed quis Fortuna negarat
> in patriam reditus. Ipsos concurrere passus
> haud tamen inter se magni regnator Olympi;
> mox illos sua fata manent maiore sub hoste.

In themes such as these, Virgil's deepest interests seem to be centered. Every detail of the picture is painted with a sympathetic hand, and each new stroke impresses us with the "sadness of all brief and lovely things."

> The god of speech was neighbour to his lips,
> A lover's grace on words he loved to say.

Hinc Pallas instat, egregius forma. So vividly is the fatal encounter with Turnus portrayed that the reader, like Alcides (464–465),

> magnumque sub imo
> corde prèmit gemitum lacrimasque effundit inanis.

Pallas "a black day has carried off and plunged in bitter death" (507–509):

> O dolor atque decus magnum rediture parenti!
> Haec te prima dies bello dedit, haec eadem aufert.

'Miserande puer,' mourns Aeneas (XI, 42–44):

> tene, inquit, miserande puer, cum laeta veniret,
> invidit fortuna mihi, ne regna videres
> nostra, neque ad sedes victor veherere paternas?

And to the father (53):

> Infelix, nati funus crudele videbis!

But *infelix*, as well, is Acoetes (85–87):

> Ducitur infelix aevo confectus Acoetes,
> pectora nunc foedans pugnis, nunc unguibus ora,
> sternitur et toto proiectus corpore terrae . . .

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Evander, unwillingly surviving his son, cries out to the mother (158–159):

> tuque, o sanctissima coniunx,
> felix morte tua neque in hunc servata dolorem!

His own sad fate is seen in the words (175),

> Sed infelix Teucros quid demoror armis?
> "Hinc contra Lausus,"
> quo pulchrior alter
> non fuit, excepto Laurentis corpore Turni (VII, 649–650).

"And here death's cruel gloom and thy most glorious deeds—if so be that ancient days may win credence for such prowess—I in sooth will not leave unsung, nay nor thyself, O youth, so worthy to be sung!" Lausus, coming to the aid of his father, is warned by Aeneas: "Whither rushest thou to meet thy doom, with daring beyond thy strength? Thy love betrays thee into rashness." But Lausus heeds not, and "the Fates gather up his last threads; for Aeneas drives the sword sheer through the youth's body." The picture of beautiful youth sacrificed (Infelix puer!) to beautiful deed inspires the poet's "tremulous pity" (X, 821–832):

> At vero ut voltum vidit morientis et ora,
> ora modis Anchisiades pallentia miris,
> ingemuit miserans graviter dextramque tetendit
> et mentem patriae strinxit pietatis imago.
> "Quid tibi nunc, miserande puer, pro laudibus istis,
> quid pius Aeneas tanta dabit indole dignum?
> Arma, quibus laetatus, habe tua, teque parentum
> manibus et cineri, si qua est ea cura, remitto.
> Hoc tamen infelix miseram solabere mortem:
> Aeneae magni dextra cadis." Increpat ultro
> cunctantis socios et terra sublevat ipsum,
> sanguine turpantem comptos de morte capillos.

This sad beauty of youth cut down in its bloom has a peculiar fascination for Virgil, and has inspired some of his most felicitous verses. Of Pallas he sings (XI, 67–71):

> Hic iuvenem agresti sublimem stramine ponunt,
> qualem virgineo demessum pollice florem

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seu mollis violae seu languentis hyacinthi,
cui neque fulgor adhuc nec dum sua forma recessit;
non iam mater alit tellus virisque ministrat.

Of Euryalus (Infelix!) he sings (IX, 431–437):

viribus ensis adactus
transabiit costas et candida pectora rumpit.
Volvitur Euryalus leto, pulchrosque per artus
it cruor inque umeros cervix conlapsa recumbit:
purpureus veluti cum flos succisus aratro
languescit moriens, lassove papavera collo
demisere caput, pluvia cum forte gravantur.

Of Marcellus (VI, 882–886):

Heu miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas!
Tu Marcellus eris! Manibus date lilia plenis!
Purpureos spargam flores animamque nepotis
his saltem accumulem donis et fungar inani
munere.

Of Camilla (VII, 803–805, 812–817):

Hos super advenit Volsca de gente Camilla,
agmen agens equitum et florentis aere catervas,
bellatrix.
Illam omnis tectis agrisque effusa iuventus
turbaque miratur matrum et prospectat euntem,
attonitis inhians animis, ut regius ostro
velet honos levis umeros,ut fibula crinem
auro internectat, Lyciam ut gerat ipsa pharetram
et pastoralem praefixa cuspide myrtum.

But when she goes forth to cruel war, Diana recalls how as a babe, fastened by her father's hand (XI, 562–563),

rapidum super amnem
infelix fugit in iaculo stridente Camilla.

"Infelix!" mourns the goddess; for

nostris nequiquam cingitur armis,
cara mihi ante alias (XI, 536–537).

With Arruns' spear driven deep, (XI, 818–819):

labitur exsanguis, labuntur frigida leto
lumina, purpureus quondam color ora reliquit.

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And when from afar the Latonian maid espied "tristi mulcatam morte Camillam," she pours forth her words of sorrow (XI, 841–847):

> Heu nimium, virgo, nimium crudele luisti
> supplicium, Teucros conata lacessere bello!
> nec tibi desertae in dumis coluisse Dianam
> profuit aut nostras umero gessisse sagittas.
> Non tamen indecorem tua te regina reliquit
> extrema iam in morte, neque hoc sine nomine letum
> per gentis erit aut famam patieris inultae.

More beautiful than Lausus, more beautiful than all is Laurentian Turnus. The Rutulians embattled are stirred by his transcendent figure (VII, 473–474):

> hunc decus egregium formae movet atque iuventae,
> hunc atavi reges, hunc claris dextera factis.

It is he that the reader instinctively admires and genuinely pities. "Although Aeneas is Virgil's hero," says Mr. T. E. Page, "still his natural feeling seems to be with Turnus, and, almost in spite of his will he makes him the more interesting figure." Nor does a sister's grief find the Muse unmoved (XII, 869–873):

> At, procul ut Dirae stridorem adgnovit et alas,
> infelix crinis scindit Iuturna solutos,
> unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora pugnis:
> "Quid nunc te tua, Turne, potest germana iuvare?
> aut quid iam durae superat mihi?"

And filial love in the appeal of Turnus sways the heart of the reader as it did that of Aeneas (932–936):

> Miseri te si qua parentis
> tangere cura potest, oro (fuit et tibi talis
> Anchises genitor), Dauni miserere senectae
> et me, seu corpus spoliatum lumine mavis,
> redde meis.

In a word, the dominant motif at the end of book XII is the *exitium dirum* of Turnus. Neither Aeneas's victory nor his avenging blow can drown out the thought that Turnus is

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infelix (941). And the same sad note runs on in the accompaniment after the actors have left the stage.

But the poet of sorrow does not need for his theme the beauty of youth or exemplary character. Contemptuous of the gods, fearless of death, brutal, and hated of men, the old warrior Mezentius [4] becomes in Virgil's art a figure that inspires both admiration and pity. The father's surpassing love for his son strikes a sympathetic note in the human heart, and the pathetic picture of bereaved father eclipses that of the heroic son. Nowhere does *infelix* have so poignant a cry as in Mezentius's lament over self-sacrificing son (X, 846–850):

> Tantane me tenuit vivendi, nate, voluptas,
> ut pro me hostili paterer succedere dextrae,
> quem genui? Tuane haec genitor per volnera servor,
> morte tua vivens? Heu, nunc misero mihi demum
> exitium infelix, nunc alte volnus adactum! [5]

Likewise Ulysses, *hortator scelerum* (VI, 529), *fandi fictor* (IX, 603), ruthless,[6] no friend of the Trojans, wins from Virgil nevertheless a sympathetic *infelix* in two passages (III, 613–614),

> Sum patria ex Ithaca, comes infelicis Ulixi,
> nomine Achaemenides . . .

and (III, 690–691),

> Talia monstrabat relegens errata retrorsus
> litora Achaemenides, comes infelicis Ulixi.

Artistic considerations seem to bring it about that the expression *comes infelicis Ulixi* marks the beginning and the end of the episode, while a third *infelix*, (649), characterizing the sorry

[4] Page (*The Aeneid of Virgil*, VII–XII, p. xxiii) remarks that the "delineation of him (X, 856 f.) as he mounts his old war-horse for the last time is unequalled in Latin, perhaps in any, literature."

[5] J. Henry, *Aeneida* (quoted in Page's *Virgil*): "Except David's passion of grief for Absalom (*2 Sam.* 18, 33): 'O my son Absalom, my son, my son Absalom! would God I had died for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son!', I know of no father's grief for the death of a son to be compared with Mezentius's for Lausus."

[6] II, 6–8:

> Quis talia fando
> Myrmidonum Dolopumve aut duri miles Ulixi
> temperet a acrimis?

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existence of Achaemenides, appears in the middle of the narrative. The *comes infelicis Ulixi* of Achaemenides, repeated on the lips of Aeneas, strikes the ear with the felicitous effect of a haunting, mournful refrain. Virgil's story, Professor Prescott [7] points out, "emphasizes only the pathetic and gruesome features of the Homeric episode."

Evidence of *Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum* (VIII, 334) Virgil notes at every turn. Nor is it alone for Turnus that he reflects (X, 501): "O heart of man, not knowing doom, nor of events to be!" No approach of death or doom, in fact, fails to interest the poet. With fine dramatic feeling, the warning of woe is generally announced by the word *infelix* before the tragedy is fully revealed, *infelix* often interrupting the narrative like a sob (Ah! the pity of it) that cannot be suppressed. Any appearance of *infelix*,[8] of course, registers the poet's sympathy.

[7] *The Development of Virgil's Art* (Chicago, 1927), pp. 176 ff.

[8] I, 474–478: Parte alia fugiens amissis Troilus armis,
infelix puer atque impar congressus Achilli,
fertur equis curruque haeret resupinus inani,
lora tenens tamen; huic cervixque comaeque trahuntur
per terram, et versa pulvis inscribitur hasta.

II, 345 f.: infelix, qui non sponsae (of Coroebus) praecepta furentis audierit!

455 f.: infelix qua se, dum regna manebant
saepius Andromache ferre incomitata solebat.

III, 49–56: Hunc Polydorum auri quondam cum pondere magno
infelix Priamus furtim mandarat alendum
Threicio regi, cum iam diffideret armis
Dardaniae cingique urbem obsidione videret.
ille, ut opes fractae Teucrum et Fortuna recessit,
res Agamemnonias victriciaque arma secutus
fas omne abrumpit; Polydorum obtruncat et auro
vi potitur.

V, 203 f.: (dum) spatioque subit Sergestus iniquo,
infelix saxis in procurrentibus haesit.

327–333: Iamque fere spatio extremo fessique sub ipsam
finem adventabat, levi cum sanguine Nisus
labitur infelix, caesis ut forte iuvencis
fusus humum viridisque super madefecerat herbas.
hic iuvenis iam victor ovans vestigia presso
haud tenuit titubata solo, sed pronus in ipso
concidit immundoque fimo sacroque cruore.

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At the beginning of the second book (3, 12–13) Virgil makes Aeneas say:

> Infandum, regina, iubes renovare dolorem,
> . . . . . .
> quamquam animus meminisse horret luctuque refugit,
> incipiam.

And yet, the reader of the *Aeneid* knows full well that Virgil "loves his griefs and broken sighs." Everywhere, it seems, he takes advantage of the pathetic possibilities of his theme. While epic convention, logical development of the story, or a desire to relieve his patriotism may have prompted him to introduce incidents of sorrow, the moving power with which he sings them must spring from the instinctive impulses of his inner nature. He sings in a plaintive minor mode for no other reason than this, that he can't help doing so.

The felicity of *infelix*, then, lies in the singularly effective way it sets forth, artistically, dramatically, and tragically, a poetical concept which lay very close to the poet's heart. Where words leave off, its implied significance takes up the tale. If poetry ever tells what cannot be said, then certainly *infelix* reveals in the art of Virgil the deepest convictions of the poet's soul.

V, 465–467: Infelix, quae tanta animum dementia cepit?
Non viris alias conversaque numine sentis?
Cede deo.

X, 324–327: Tu quoque, flaventem prima lanugine malas
dum sequeris Clytium infelix, nova gaudia, Cydon,
Dardania stratus dextra, securus amorum,
qui iuvenum tibi semper erant, miserande, iaceres . . .

424 f.: dum texit Imaona Halaesus,
Arcadio infelix telo dat pectus inermum.

595 f.: frater (Liger) tendebat inertis
infelix palmas, curru delapsus eodem.

730 f.: Sternitur infelix Acron et calcibus atram
tundit humum exspirans infractaque tela cruentat.

781 f.: Sternitur infelix alieno volnere caelumque
aspicit et dulcis moriens reminiscitur Argos.

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VI.—*Some Literary Interests of Fifteenth Century German Students*

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Noteworthy among the Latin manuscripts of the *Staatsbibliothek* at Munich are the numerous *libri manuales* dating from the fifteenth century. While these indicate clearly the continuance of the earlier types,[1] there is a notable increase in collections obviously made to suit the needs of an individual compiler, who often proves to have been a German student, a part of whose studies was carried on in Italy. Besides literary and critical materials gathered in these students' handbooks, there are many less formal additions, among which may be mentioned little *florilegia* on youth and age, love and avarice, virtues and vices, enthusiastic eulogies of the authors studied, notes on lectures or orations attended, letters bearing on study in general or on the friendships and collector's zeal of the compilers of the manuscripts. Such additions, though individually of small importance, together yield much of interest for the students' part in the transmission of the enthusiasms of Italian humanists to Germany.

With the increasing activity of the printing press it was natural that handwritten books should become more and more individual; printed volumes could meet the demand for standardized collections. Withal there is a striking similarity between manuscript collections of this and the earlier centuries and many of the printed handbooks of the arts and authors, which may be most conveniently studied in the lists of the

[1] Compare my article "The Uses of Classical Latin Authors in the *Libri Manuales*," *T.A.P.A.* LV (1924), 190–248. The investigation on which the present article is based was carried on by the aid of a grant from the Committee in Aid of Research of the American Council of Learned Societies, for which I again express my indebtedness. Manuscripts cited in this article are of the fifteenth century unless otherwise indicated, and are at present in the *Staatsbibliothek* at Munich.

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contents of his great library which Hartmann Schedel of Nuremberg, doctor of medicine and of the arts, left to future humanists.[2] Students often could not afford printed copies of the *opera omnia* of the authors studied, and must compile for themselves the works most needed, partly by their own scribal activity, partly by purchase of individual works in manuscript. So we find that the books which Hartmann Schedel gathered in the course of his studies at Leipzig and Padua are usually in manuscript, while later he collected not only manuscripts but also printed volumes in great abundance. And his cousin Hermann, recognizing the difficulties of students in gathering libraries, bequeathed all his "schoolbooks which are ordinarily called *Scholasticalia*" to poor students of good character, that they might remember him.[3]

When student years began to bring financial rewards and the owner could afford to have his library bound he was likely to seek uniformity of size for his volumes as well as economy in binders' bills, by grouping numerous separate items together, with a result sometimes baffling to cataloguers.[4] The contemporary bindings, naturally preserved in a much greater proportion of these than of earlier manuscripts, aid us, however diverse in scribal origin the various parts of a volume may be, to recognize an individual collector's interest in gathering them together, whether at the time of writing or that of binding, and we are seldom left, as in the case of the earlier manuscripts, to wonder whether the collection was really intended as a unit, or was bound up merely because the separate parts happened to need binding. Often the history of a volume may be clearly traced. Anastasius de Florenzia made a fine copy of Virgil in 1426–9. Hermann Schedel bought it in Italy, and in Augsburg in 1460 added the *Thirteenth Book of the*

[2] Cf. Richard Stauber, *Die Schedelsche Bibliothek* (Freiburg, 1908), pp. 103–145.

[3] Stauber, *op. cit.*, p. 227 on Hartmann Schedel's earlier manuscripts; *ibid.*, p. 253, *Testamentum Hermanni Schedel.*

[4] Compare the *titulus* on the cover of the old binding of Monacensis 19876 from Tegernsee; *Libellus quotlibeticus de variis materiis.*

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Aeneid by Maffeo Vegio, to complete the volume.[5] Sometimes the promises of student years failed of fulfilment and the books proved of less value to the student or his family than their market price; and so we find a copy of Aulus Gellius, made at Padua "opere et diligentia Ludovici artium doctoris atque legum scolaris," sold, in spite of the young man's enthusiasm for Gellius as a "vir summe bonus," in the rag market at Vienna no long time after it was first copied.[6]

No collection would be sure of preserving its corporate unity, and Schedel's cry—"Unus colligit, alius collecta dispergit"—is repeated more than once. The amenities of bookcollecting led sometimes to delays or gaps in volumes carefully planned. Hartmann Schedel had loaned his autograph copy of a Thuringian chronicle to Trithemius, abbot of Spanheim, in 1502. Trithemius in spite of repeated requests refused to return it. In 1507 Schedel copied as much as he could find of the chronicle in another manuscript, with an account of his difficulties in the matter and the stated intention of completing it if opportunity should offer.[7]

It is with the collector, however, not with the disperser or the hindrances to collecting that we are here concerned. As is already evident, Hartmann Schedel offers the best example of the book collecting interests of the fifteenth century student.[8] Born at Nuremberg in 1440 he studied for the baccalaureate and master's degrees at Leipzig; Monacensis 466 bears eloquent testimony to his studies at this period. Like his other collections it contains a careful index in his own hand, and among the various odds and ends on the same leaves as the index are *sententiae* on study and prayer, notes on the calendar, and

[5] Monacensis 319. Stauber, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[6] MS. Monacensis 23715. Aulus Gellius; Seneca, *proverbia*. F. 167r: "Emptus est liber ab Johanne Fuchswagen auf den Tändelmarkt zu Wien umb 18 kr. 3 d. 1499."

[7] Stauber, *op. cit.*, p. 93 f.

[8] Cf. Stauber, *op. cit.*, and Wattenbach, "Hartmann Schedel als Humanist," *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, XI (1871), 349–374; and the lists of the contents of books from Schedel's library in the catalogue of the *Staatsbibliothek* at Munich.

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quotations on old age and the passage of time from Virgil, Juvenal, and Horace, Persius, Ovid, and Maximianus, a characteristic group. The diversity of interests which he never lost is indicated by the contents of the book itself: legal terms and extracts, with forms for briefs and pleas in court—"Deo gratias finita in Liptzk anno lx°"; treatises on rhetoric and elocution written "anno lxii per magistrum H. Schedel de N."; epitaphs, the letters of Seneca and Paulus, the letter of Sappho to Phaon from Ovid's *Heroides*, with the *De Medicamine Faciei*, and the *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis* ascribed here, as regularly in these manuscripts, to the same prolific author. The speech of Guarinus Veronensis on his excerpts from Cicero's letters is cited with the letters. A *lepida epistola* begins with the ingratiating words, "Execremini in eternum." A treatise on the divisions of eloquence, and rules for writing letters were added in 1462, and monastic formulae are included, but nearer to the immediate interest of the compiler were the *recommendacio magistrandi* and an oration on the presentation of a scholar for his examination. Bound into the volume is a copy of a public announcement of a lecture by Peter Luder—"qua argumentis rationibusque firmissimis ostendet studia humanitatis: historiographos: oratores: et poetas omnibus fore capessenda." The *collatio* itself follows, and its magnificent defence of the scholarly life and of a love of the humanities in their various branches indicates something of the influence that this one among Schedel's teachers was to have on him. Historians, orators, and poets are set as the infallible foundation for humanistic studies, and the love of Germany is urged as a prime reason for scholarly effort; was it to this lecture that the *Chronicon Universale* owed its inception? In his praise of history Peter Luder used the same quotation from Cicero that Aeneas Silvius cited in a letter often quoted in students' books, and Aeneas Silvius was soon to become one of Schedel's great enthusiasms. Among the elegies in the book is one of Peter Luder's followed by a *recommendacio poesis*—a true teacher, he could give both precept and practice.

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But for the most earnest student poetry had other uses than those Luder officially recommended, as the song book with its songs in German, French, Italian, and Latin which Schedel copied at this time abundantly proves.[9] One of the poems in manuscript 466 is entitled *Carmen elegiacum cuiusdam a studiis Lipzeti recedentis* and is largely composed of complaints of a faithless girl who had ill repaid the time lavished on her. Among the evidences of his devotion are mentioned his nightly serenades; one feels that the author of the poem may very well be the same young man who could take time from his studies to compile a *Liederbuch.* Yet when the time came for cataloguing his library, all that he thought it worth while to list of this record of his studies and diversions was "Epistole eleganciores Tullij: Sapho: diversa epitaphia et plura alia."

Another of the Leipzig volumes, Monacensis 261, "1462 finita," testifies to the lectures on Virgil given by the same Peter Luder. The announcement of the lectures is pasted inside the back cover of the volume:

"Doctissimi poetarum Virgilii libros eneydum duodecim: ubi hystorie Romanorum omniumque pene exterarum gentium res geste: fabuleque poetarum latius declarabuntur (qui) audire cupit: veniat cras hora prima ad hospitium petri Luder et ibi erit conventio de loco hora et pretio."

Schedel was obviously one of those who accepted the invitation and found the terms satisfactory; hence this volume which has Virgil's works in the fullest sense of the words, including poems of the Appendix, and all the verses of the *Anthologia Latina* that usually accompany a Virgil, with *Homerus Dindarus* (*sic*) as well, and Luder's commentary including the praise of Virgil by Aeneas Silvius. A less usual inclusion than the others is the extract from the "compendium which Messale a most eloquent orator published for Octavianus Caesar Augustus on his progeny and the governments of the glorious Roman world," discussing the geography of Asia with an account of the Dardanian race.

[9] Cf. Fromann, "Das Münchener Liederbuch," *Zeit. f. deutsch. Philologie,* xv (1883), pp. 104–126; Stauber, *op. cit.*, pp. 42–44.

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Another volume dating from Schedel's student days at Leipzig shows that his interest was not only in classical writers, but also in those men of the twelfth century especially who might serve as the best guides for the aspirant to honors through the *ars metrica*. Monacensis 237 once bore the title *Diversi Metriste*, now pasted inside the back cover of the volume, and one wonders if the accompanying quotation,

Omnia cum quodam veniunt incommoda fructu

is an echo of a long past struggle with the art of versification. Schedel's entry in his book list gives a most convenient brief description of its contents:

"Liber Augustini Dati: Gamfredus: Prudentius: Esopus (*i.e.* Waltharius): Avianus: pauper Heinricus: Architecnius (*i.e.* Architrenius): Maximianus: Brunellus: Fridancus (*i.e.* Fagifacetus): Beda de arte metrica: Alanus de planctu nature: Anticlaudianus Alani et diversi metriste in uno volumine." [10]

Among the *diversi metriste* are a number of German pieces and some verses apparently composed by Schedel himself on Homer, Virgil, and Horace, with the usual medley of ecclesiastical verse and *probra mulierum*, John of Garland's *Pilatus*, and a charming little *commendacio scolarum*, beginning

Nemo valet congruis verbis explicare
Quam sit honorabile studium scolare.[11]

The book is an example of a long continued compilation as it was written from 1460 to 1462 at Leipzig.

In 1462 Schedel left Leipzig, took minor orders at Merseburg, as we might expect from the theological interest in many of the items included in the manuscripts of this and the later periods, and from the constant use of IESVS at the beginning of works which he copied. After various visits to Germany he returned to Nuremberg, and then went to Augsburg to visit

[10] Stauber, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

[11] The complete text of this poem is given, with some discussion, by Wattenbach in *Anzeiger f. Kunde der deutsch. Vorzeit* (1871), pp. 47–48.

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his cousin Hermann and profit by making copies from his library to enrich his own collection. After a period spent partly in copying works of Cicero in Nuremberg, he made his way to Padua where in 1464 he heard his former teacher, Peter Luder, who had left Leipzig in 1462, lecture on Ovid. Of these lectures he left us his testimony in Monacensis 209, in which at the end of a copy of the *Metamorphoses* made in 1462, with the *Heroides*, *De Arte Amandi*, and *De Remedio Amoris*, now enriched with an ample commentary, he has written: "Auditus a magistro petro poeta medicine doctore anno lxiiii vii die Junij in padua." In addition to Ovid's works the book includes the characteristic apparatus for a study of Ovid; epitaphs, notes on the location of Roman temples, tables of names and locations of rivers, lists of fates, virtues, winds, furies, family trees of the lesser divinities, tables of the poets and their works, with a duly prominent place given to Ovid, and his *Tragedium* listed with the rest. From genealogies of divinities we pass to those of "kings not listed in the former genealogies," depending naturally on Boccaccio. A later poet than Ovid has his place in the *Carmen de Duobus Caecis Mutuo Romam Petentibus*, and the harassed student speaks in a note on those "qui me a scribendo deterrent" and utters his warning "ne quis de sanctitate sua confidet et sperat." It is interesting to note that the preliminary lecture on the value of fables, deriving authority for their defence from scriptural passages, cites the spoiling of the Egyptians, the same passage which justified the reading of pagan authors a thousand years and more earlier. It is the earnest student who speaks in the introductory sentence,

> "cui Methamorphoses nomen indidit propter fabularum peritia (sic!) quas noscere non parvi fructus est . . ."

but was it as a student that he jotted on the same leaf

> Spes est qui pascit amantem . . .
> Sic o dii voluistis. . . .
> Solo virtutis amore . . .?

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and what skepticism as to his fellow students prompted the quotation from "Oratius":

Quod mens ignorat, plus volt scire videri?

An epidemic of the plague necessitated a vacation at Conegliano which was made fruitful by the copying of Poggio's letters. Here too was written a part of Monacensis 361, the rest of which was compiled in Padua and in Nuremberg. The volume includes several of Cicero's orations with his life, *De Fato, Timaeus,* the "Invectives of Cicero and Sallust," and a combination of works which suggest a composite mirror of princes—Xenophon's treatise *De Tyrannorum Vita,* that of Basilius *De Adolescentium Institutionibus,* and of Plutarch *De Puerorum Educatione,* translated by Guarinus Veronensis. In addition a letter of Lombardus Asiricus to Petrarch and the dialogue *De Dispositione Vite Sue,* with a letter of Petrarch and Petrarch's translation of Boccaccio's *Griselda,* not only testify to Schedel's fondness for Petrarch but also to his recognition of the need of wise precepts for right living to accompany the study of rhetoric.

On his return to Padua Schedel gave himself over to medical study but without forsaking classical authors or the literary figures of the modern period, reading Greek and Italian as well as Latin, and always increasing his library. An example of his habit of compiling a volume as he found time, in various times and places, as well as his liking for copies of the same works in different collections is offered by Monacensis 364, written at Nuremberg in 1463 and 1467 and at Padua in 1464, containing a number of Cicero's works, *De Officiis, De Somnio Scipionis, Paradoxa, De Senectute, De Amicitia,* and the "Invectives of Cicero and Sallust"; orations of Guarinus Veronensis on Cicero, and numerous orations translated from the Greek; various contemporary orations and letters, a translation of Lucian's dialogues and *Charon,* and, seeming a bit out of place in this group, a letter of Petrus Blesensis on a boy in love. I have chosen this as an example of the many manu-

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scripts with Cicero's orations and those of a more recent time grouped together, which are to be found in the fifteenth century collections in Munich and elsewhere, because it serves as an illustration of the considerable section of Schedel's library given over to the *Opera Tullij*. And here as elsewhere he has shown his especial delight in Cicero by quoting Aeneas Silvius' praise of him, and to Schedel praise from Aeneas Silvius was praise indeed. The speech of George Ehinger "pro petendis insigniis doctoratus padue" in 1224, and that of the prior of the college on the same occasion remind us that Schedel too sought his degree in Padua. One wonders how the later candidate for the doctorate at Padua happened on this memorial of his predecessor's orals. At any rate the volume was one that Schedel valued highly, for he put a special plea at the end for its return if anyone should keep it contrary to his wishes.

In 1466 he became doctor of medicine and returned to Germany. After sojourns at Nordlingen and Hamburg he settled in Nuremberg in 1482 or 1483, practising medicine with a diligence and scientific knowledge which are shown by his prescription books, his amazing medical library and the letters written to him by other physicians seeking his advice; continuing his study of classical and modern authors, and increasing his library of printed and manuscript works in Hebrew, Greek, German, and Latin; collaborating with Martin Behaim on his globe, a task for which his great interest in geographical treatises had well prepared him;[12] writing his famous *Chronicon Universale* which both in Latin and German was to have great influence—and if today connoisseurs cherish the history chiefly as a product of the Koberger press and for the interest of its woodcuts, another side of his humanism is thereby shown, in his intelligent and effective interest in the furthering of an art which owes some of its finest development to his city. Many of his books reflect his artistic interest, a pleasant example being Monacensis 266, his own index to

[12] Stauber, *op. cit.*, pp. 59–62, 257–263.

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Pliny's *Natural History*, with fine copper plate initials inserted. To us, however, the history may have most value for its reflections of the author's literary studies. His account of Thucydides includes mention of the translations by which Lorenzo Valla had made Thucydides and Herodotus speak Latin. Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis are cited on the capture of Troy, naturally as contemporaries of the event and as writers of history of the first rank. Aeneas Silvius is given a longer notice than any other pope, and his oft repeated story of the two lovers is incorporated into the history as well. Of Donatus we read: "et ut ferunt hic donatus est cuius libellus usque hodie in scolis a pueris legitur prima rudimenta grammatice discentibus."

The historical works collected in preparation for his composition of the *Chronicon* make a goodly showing, including not only contemporary printed books and manuscripts of his own copying, but also a number of older manuscripts, which remind us of his great interest in the libraries of neighboring monasteries, in all of which he was welcomed as friend and physician and where we know that on one occasion at least he was able to carry out a transaction advantageous to both sides in exchanging a religious volume for a secular work from the monastery library.[13] Some such transaction may have led to the inclusion in his library of the precious "liber vetus in pergamento in quo excerpta Cronicarum et astrologie et Beda de naturis rerum continentur" which we know as Monacensis 210, of the ninth century. His interest in the astrological part of the work was great, for he held this study to be a necessary part of the doctor's preparation, without which no patient should trust a physician.[14] The paschal cycle in the book extended to 1063 and events of interest to the monks of St. Emmeram had been entered in it, making it doubly valu-

[13] Stauber, *op. cit.*, p. 56. Monacensis 240 B: Plato: "Pro isto libro dedi Carthusiensibus in Prül prope Ratisponam librum theologie."

[14] Monacensis 275 at end: "Cuiusmodi est medicus, qui astrologiam ignorat, non meretur dici medicus, sed inimicus nature. Neque quisquam se debet manibus eius committere."

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able for the historian's work. His antiquarian interest in its detail is shown by an entry on the end flyleaf made in 1488 recording the passing of 570 years since the writing of the book in 918, "tempore Caroli magni" (though either his arithmetic or his chronology, temporarily in error, has led him a hundred years astray), and by occasional similar annotations in the course of the volume.

His humanism made him the center of an ever growing circle, and produced a voluminous correspondence of the sort which humanists from Lupus to Poggio and to our own day have carried on. Young friends studying in Italy were asked to find for him books especially desired, and sent reports of their success. In one case at least such attention to the needs of an older patron met with a deserved reward, for Hieronymus Holzschuher's letter from Padua on various medical books so impressed another humanistic doctor, Hieronymus Munzer, that for this and other reasons, as Schedel records, he married his daughter Dorothea to the young student.[15] Yet the testimony of his neighbors and patients gives us every confidence that he possessed those "condicciones boni medici" which he himself formulates: "Primo debet esse in cognoscendo studiosus, in precipiendo cautus, in medicando circumspectus, in pronosticando ambiguus, in promittendo iustus, in visitando assiduus, in sermone modestus, in affeccione benivolus." [16]

I have dwelt at some length on the library and career of Hartmann Schedel since the fulness with which he has made it possible for us to study them illuminates in no slight degree the more obscure humanists who were his contemporaries. Monacensis 3178, for example, written in Italy in 1461, seems to owe its existence to another humanistic medical student, if we may judge from the preservation in it of a printed leaf on "corpora viva et cadavera," or from the ten *folia* of *narratiunculae* about women, priests, and doctors. The volume consists chiefly of orations, both of Cicero and of the moderns,

[15] See Stauber, *op. cit.*, p. 245 for the letter of Holzschuher and Schedel's note.
[16] Monacensis 257, inside front cover.

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including various panegyrics to the pope and secular rulers, and speeches of Ludovicus Carbo on the funeral of Guarinus Veronensis, with an epitaph, and speeches of Leonardus Aretinus, together with Cicero's *Tusculans*, Virgil's *Bucolics*, and Horace's *Satires;* the *Synonyma Ciceronis* and formulae for letter writing, making altogether a typical student collection.

Study at Leipzig is reflected in Monacensis 14991a from St. Emmeram. Here, together with Ovid, *De Remedio Amoris*, and the *Satires* of Persius, with copious glosses, we find a poem on philosophy by Magister Johannes Faber de Werdea, beginning:

> Carmen discipuli presens advertite docti
> Et memores mente possideatis idem
> Carmine dilectos intendo monere scolares
> Ne quisquam viciis deditus esse velit.

The same wise teacher composed another poem for his pupils *De Ludo*, also included here, and the manuscript contains an elegiac poem composed by Jacobus Illuminator, "magister studii Liptzensis" for his students. Evidently, then, we have here a combination of the classical poets studied and the efforts made by the masters for personal guidance of their pupils.

Monacensis 15147, written in 1501, commemorates study at Zweckau. In this book are contained Virgil's *Georgics* and part of the *Aeneid*, Horace's *Epistles*, Seneca, *Ad Lucilium*, and Sedulius' *Carmen Exhortatorium ad Fideles*, with a rhythmical prose version, and his *Carmen Paschale*, bound up with a printed copy of Virgil's *Bucolics*, brought to Zweckau in 1500. The student's interest is marked by a poem in Latin and German "de modo studendi."

In Monacensis 24532, written in 1510, poems from Horace and Boethius accompany Guarinus' *Alda*, Hermann Busch, *De Contemnendo Mundo et Amanda Sola Virtute et Scientia*, and Baptista Mantuanus, *De Contemnenda Morte*, the last of which may have suggested the "auctoritates philosophorum

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de contemnenda morte" which follow; and the student compiler is indicated by the Latin-German vocabularies, treatises on the *ars metrica* and *ars dictandi*, and most of all by the oft quoted letter of Aeneas Silvius *Ad Antonium Nepotem*, "in qua eum ad studia litterarum hortatur et instigat, que pueris et adolescentibus fideliter est lectitanda."

That even the fifteenth century university was not free of the coeducational problem we are reminded by the *oratio* of Cassandra Fidelis of Venice in the gymnasium at Padua, delivered in 1487, which is accompanied in Monacensis 11048 by her correspondence with Ludovicus Schedius Vincentinus, "philosophorum et medicorum rectoris," and by a Sapphic poem in her honor written by a fellow-Venetian. The volume as a whole reflects the study both of rhetoric and ethics, practically inseparable at this time, in its copies of Seneca, *Ad Lucilium*, and Eberhard's *Laborinthus*. Seneca here as elsewhere appears as semi-Christianized, to judge from the subscription on fol. 70: "Explicit liber Senece/ Sit honor et nomen divinis vatibus ac/ Laus eterno numini." Eberhard's treatise is followed by a poem on philosophy, the same ascribed in Monacensis 14991a to Johannes Faber de Werdea. Is Guarinus's *Alda* included out of compliment to the virgin Cassandra?

A student who entered a monastery naturally gave his library to the institution; so we find Monacensis 18451 offered to "God and Saint Quirinus" at Tegernsee by Brother Leonardus on his profession. It is apparently made up of three of his books; a Virgil with copious glosses, the *Bucolics*, part of the first *Georgic*, and books IV–IX of the *Aeneid*, with the *Laudatio Virgilii* of Reudnerus; several orations of Cicero, with a few of the *Sermones* of Horace; and for the third, the beginning of a Bavarian Chronicle. The relation between the parts seems to be chiefly that of their former ownership.

A collection apparently made for use in a Franciscan foundation is Monacensis 8940, which consists chiefly of sermons written by Erasmus Schaltofer in 1478, "pro modulo et suo posse." In addition to sermons, *exempla*, and sermon themes,

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the volume contains extracts "de privilegiis Franciscanorum," and fables which might find their use in sermons but also reflect some classical interest; the fables *De Gallo et Iaspide, De Corvo et Vulpe,* etc., and fables from the first three books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* moralized.

Monacensis 14125 from St. Emmeram is a miscellany written in 1467 which shows the various interests of the monastery and its student monks. It begins with the first example I have seen of an indiction table put to a moral rather than an historical use; with *sententiae* such as

> Ignorantia excusat peccatum
> Nusquam est qui ubique est
> Nulla pestis efficacior est ad nocendum quam familiaris amicus
> Edacitatis vicio crescit carnis tentacio

accompanying each year of the indiction from 1468 to 1568. The remainder of the first part of the volume is made up of sermons. The second part includes Virgil's *Bucolics* from 7, 49 to the end, with space left for the earlier ones; and Sallust's *Catiline* written by Johannes Tegernbeck of St. Emmeram in 1467. The rest of the book includes excerpts from the letters of Aeneas Silvius, the life of the monk Malchus by Jerome, Horace's *Ars Poetica,* a letter of Petrarch, epitaphs, "Pindarus Thebanus," a table of types of oratory with Jacobus Publicius' *Institutiones Oratoriae* and part of Cicero, *De Officiis;* the greater part of these also being written by Tegernbeck. A later hand has added a bull of Sixtus IV of 1480.

Another volume made up of diverse fragments is Monacensis 18941 from Tegernsee. One section contains Sallust's *Catiline,* Boccaccio's story of Lucretia, and the *Moretum;* a rather characteristic small literary collection with Augustinus Senensis' *Isagogica* to suggest that it was compiled for student purposes. Another section shows the school influence even more plainly, including an *Ars Epistolandi* and a treatise, *De Modo Addiscendi Latinum Ydyoma.* Scattered fragments from former school books are a tractate on the memorative

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art, one on the correct mode of writing, and one on dialectic and logic, as well as excerpts from Petrus Hispanus written "in castro scolarum in Weyssenhorn" in 1481 by one "Haynricus," and another group of scholastic treatises.

The problems of individual teachers are sometimes clearly illustrated by the manuscripts they have left us. Monacensis 19651 was written by Udalricus Grimolt for his own use in tutoring the sons of Duke Albert, and was given by him at his death to the brothers at Tegernsee. Naturally he used Cato's *Distichs*, and these we find in the book with a contemporary commentary; various epitaphs and letters of a princely sort it is also natural to include; but more than this was necessary for the instruction of noble pupils, and the anxious tutor, not feeling capable of composing a "mirror" for the boys that would improve on those already current, consulted his friend Johannes Slitpacher, a monk of Melk, who sent him a copy of Aeneas Silvius's treatise made for King Ladislaus. When this was incorporated into the volume with Johannes' letter and with the addition of an excerpt from the princely tale of *Barlaam and Josaphat*, and one from Egidius Romanus, *De Regimine Principum*, a prayer or two and some rules for versification, he must have felt better equipped for his task.

Philippus de Pistoris, who was engaged in 1368 in the teaching of rhetoric, compiled an edition of the *Auctor ad Herennium* for his students, and also a *Viridarium super Nova Rhetorica Tulliana*, which a modest pupil, signing himself merely by the initial *L*, put into a volume with the epitaphs of Cicero by the twelve wise men. Notable is the introduction of the *Viridarium* in which Philippus gives an account of the length of his rhetorical studies at Bologna and elsewhere to justify the undertaking of so presumptuous a task. Another diligent teacher is said to have spent fifteen years in making a compilation from Aristotle, Pliny, Solinus, Ambrose, Magnus Paulinus, Isidore, Augustine, and Magister Jacobus of the excerpts on natural history which now make up Monacensis 6908, written in the thirteenth century. That the teacher

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of the fifteenth century was fully as diligent is proved by the industry of Philippus de Pistoris.

The more ordinary type of schoolbook had not changed greatly since the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as is proved by continuance both in manuscript and printed form of the *liber Catonianus*.[17] Part of such a book is preserved in Monacensis 7597 from Indersdorff, including a *Vocabularium*, the eclogue of Theodulus, and *Puerilia*, a dialogue on grammar, beginning "Es tu scolaris? Sum," with an *Expositio super Lauream Sanctorum*. The Theodulus and *Puerilia* at least belong with the dialogue to a rather early stage of instruction. In Schedel's library was a full *liber Catonianus* from the fourteenth century with the common list of contents: Cato, Theodulus, Statius, Claudianus, Avianus, and Maximianus. Schedel's own use of the book is attested by the index which he made for it.

In the school manuscripts at Munich as at Bruges and elsewhere there is great interest in the textbooks of John of Garland, an example of which is Monacensis 4146, which Burchardus copied in 1436 and 1437, carefully noting after the various treatises the time in the church year when the work was finished, and on one occasion also the names of the monks received that day. The book is heavily weighted with Biblical and moral instruction, including Cato's *Distichs*, a *Facetus*, *De Contemptu Mundi*, a metrical *Physiologus*, *Novus Katho*, Prudentius' *Enchiridion*, Theodulus, Avianus, the *Antigamaratus*, a book on the miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary written by Volpertus of Ahusa, and verses on the conduct of priests during an interdict. At the same time it contains for secular instruction the *Cornutus* and *Olla Patella* of John of Garland, with a list of the names of birds and the *Liber Quinque Clavium*, designed to lend the untaught an easy way to the art most studied.

[17] Cf. Boas, "De librorum Catonianorum historia atque compositione," *Mnemosyne*, XLII; and my list, including some examples from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in *T.A.P.A.* LV (1924), 198 f.

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More exclusive attention is paid to rhetoric, metric, and the art of letter writing in Monacensis 25187, scornfully labelled by some former owner as containing "Varia, sed non magni momenti,"—a volume only half as thick now as the binding would indicate that it once was. Here with the anonymous *Artes* we find Horace's *Ars Poetica* and verses from the *Anthologia Latina* by way of illustration for it, with Pamphilus, *De Amore* and "Ovidius," *De Cuculo*, the latter one of the many poems on Pyramus and Thisbe. One wonders what the lost parts of the book were, which, like these, were considered by some past librarian as of no great moment.

Examples for the student of oratory are given in Monacensis 309, written at the end of the fifteenth century, claimed as the archetype of the *editio princeps* of Quintilian's Declamations, and containing also the *Panegyrici Latini*.

Rhetoric was combined with instruction in the arts of living in Monacensis 11348, which has Eberhard's *Laborinthus* with Bernardus Gestensis, *Phagifacetus* and Ovid, *De Remedio Amoris*, all with scholarly *accessus* and glosses. Again in Monacensis 7740 from Indersdorff we have the *Graecismus* of Eberhard with the third book of the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei, Cato, *Facetiae*, and the *Morum Flores* of the *Tigamaratus* of Johannes Cracoviensis. The mention in the third line of the *Facetiae*, usually ascribed to John of Garland, of the "morosi dogma Kathonis" suggests the entry "Chato de morositate scolaro" in the index of MS. Berolinensis Q 536, of the thirteenth century, which I had formerly assumed was merely a natural slip for *moralitate*.

Monacensis 3604 contains the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* with other treatises and questions on rhetoric and metric, and Cicero's oration *Pro Marcello* as an example; a treatise on letter writing illustrated by letters of Cicero; an *Ars Memorativa* as a useful aid for retaining the other contents of the book; Alexander de Hales and John of Garland on Greek and Hebrew words, mythological terms from Martianus Capella, biblical and popular proverbs, *auctoritates*, chiefly from Seneca, and

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other useful odds and ends, with Poggio's *Facetiae* and a curious dialogue between *Concupiscentia* and Seneca, composed by the student Heinricus Gorlicz in 1467, with theological excerpts. The owner of the book should at least have been able to express himself fluently and wittily.

A somewhat similar collection once in Schedel's library is described by him as

"Epithome Oratorie Artis; ars scribendi epistolas; Ars memorie Iacobi Publicii: opusculum de composicione: Versus Francisci Mataracij commentaria in Virgilium et Terrentium cum Maximiano de Incommodo senectutis." [18]

Another fifteenth century student in Italy combined Nonius Marcellus, vocabularies from Servius, the *Synonyma Ciceronis* and a treatise on rhetoric and words depending on Nonius, as an aid to his studies of rhetoric (Monacensis 19662). Monacensis 14644 from St. Emmeram, written at Ingolstadt in 1485 and after, teaches the art of letter writing by precept and example with numerous excerpts of value to students, as the *Isagogicus* of Augustinus Senensis, a work introduced as "Salutaris poeta de floribus legendis pueris," a phrase list with German glosses, the oftcopied letter of Aeneas Silvius to Antonius on study, the letters of Samuel Karoth, among which is one on the delights of the humane studies and of the summer season, appropriately accompanied by the *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis*, again credited to Ovid. The virtues are not forgotten, for we have Martinus Dumiensis, *De Quattuor Virtutibus*, and some useful *Monita ad Clericos Scolares* in Latin and German, and verses, *De Fugiendis Mulieribus*.

Among other volumes apparently compiled with "clerici scolares" in mind, Monacensis 5594 serves the student's interest largely from the ethical standpoint. Of the classical writers it contains Cicero, *De Officiis*, the manuscript copy ending at II, 18, with the rest supplied from a printed edition; and the *Cato Maior*, Persius, "Pindarus Thebanus," Boethius, books I–III and part of IV, and poems from the *Anthologia*

[18] Stauber, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

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Latina; of later moralistic works, Martinus Dumiensis, *De Quattuor Virtutibus,* excerpts from Basilius, Bernard, Thomas Aquinas, and Theobald's *Physiologus;* for the student's final instruction Augustinus Senensis, *De Variis Loquendi Figuris,* a compendious dialogue on the art of punctuation, a letter of Thomas Aquinas in answer to a question on the method of classical study, a *Carmen de Studii Exhortatione,* a treatise on pentameter and hexameter verse, John of Salisbury's poem "de ventris artuumque altercatione," here ascribed to Ovid, and Johannes de Werdea, *De Ludo* (cf. Monacensis 14991a). Ovid is again credited with the *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis.* A printed edition of the *Ethics* of Aristotle and of Seneca, *Ad Lucilium* is added. A reminder of the recurrent epidemic is given us in the metrical *Regimen in Tempore Pestifero.*

A similar collection is found in Monacensis 5942 with Cato, Aesop, the treatise *De Quattuor Virtutibus,* and various others on virtues and vices; metrical and grammatical treatises and the useful work of Johannes Reynspucher "pro sacerdotibus libros non habentibus." Several of the other extracts are obviously intended for the clergy, and the volume, like the preceding one, gives evidence of the need of some medical knowledge in its *Regimen Sanitatis Scolae Salernitanae,* and the "ordo vivendi physice" prescribed by Johannes Hispalensis, and a German list of herbs. A treatise from Petrus Paulus Vergerius, *De Ingeniis, Moribus, et Studiis Liberalibus Adolescentiae,* like the Aesop and Cato, suggests a pedagogical activity of this particular cleric, whether he had any other books or not.

A varied and useful set of examples of the fine art of letter writing is found in Monacensis 70, one of Hermann Schedel's books, which includes a wide range, letters of Sidonius, Petrus Blesensis, and Aeneas Silvius, with the latter's *Aeneis,* including *De Curialium Miseriis* and the story of the two lovers, as well as letters of others which he collected, and the book to Ladislaus *De Institutione Adolescentium,* with its full and useful lists of authors to be read by boys, given added

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interest by the frequent *marginalia* and underlinings of the owner of the volume.

Rhetoric is combined with history in Hermann Schedel's Monacensis 459 containing rhetorical treatises, with Petrarch, *De Modo Punctandi*, a work on metres by Guarinus, the *Synonyma Ciceronis*, and examples of oratory from Cicero and renaissance authors, together with a dictionary of mythology compiled by Peter Luder, and notes on Roman offices, *coronae* and other antiquities of use in historical study, the *Lamentatio Pergame* by way of introduction to Dares Phrygius, a letter of Hermann Schedel's friend Dr. Blumenauer accompanying a copy of Sextus Rufus which is also included in this volume, and again Plutarch, *De Educandis Pueris*, in the translation of Guarinus, the whole having been copied at Augsburg and Innsbruck.

Hartmann Schedel used this volume at Nuremberg in 1467–8, to copy Blumenauer's letter and the histories of Sextus Rufus and Dares Phrygius in Monacensis 522, with other items useful for the student of history, including lists of the names of Greeks and Trojans, prophecies of Daniel and of the Babylonian Sibyl about the fall of Troy, the verses on the signs of the zodiac, the *Augustalis* of Benvenuto de Rambaldis, ending with Wenceslaus the son of Charles IV, Vegetius, school orations, and brief excerpts from Laertius on the lives of philosophers, historians, and poets, with contemporary letters. The latter include the correspondence of Isota with Guarinus Veronensis on the difficulties of a woman student. Whether there is any connection I do not know, but an elaborate letter follows on the question whether a wise man should marry; the letter was originally composed in 1460; Schedel copied it in 1468, but his first marriage did not occur till 1476. The interest in this manuscript in the identity of ancient men of letters recalls Hermann Schedel's literary "Who's Who" in Monacensis 131, including Jerome and Gennadius, *De Viris Illustribus*, Boccaccio, *De Claris Mulieribus*, Petrarch, *De Viris Illustribus*, and Isidore of Seville,

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De Ortu Gestis et Obitu Sanctorum. The library of the writer of the *Chronicon Universale* naturally included many collections of a purely historical nature and some under the same classification which might not now stand the tests of historical criticism; the list is easily studied in Stauber's book, but one example of what might pass as history may be mentioned,—a volume containing *Historia Troiana Guidonis, Historia Alexandri Magni et Gesta Romanorum.*

Numerous collections were made with the moral purpose predominating, and in these the works of Seneca and Cato naturally take chief place. I know of no more persuasive comment on the use of proverbs from Seneca than that of a poem in a fourteenth century manuscript with excerpts from the *Proverbia.* When we read the lines

> Lege lector Senecam rogo lege mecum
> Legas absque tedio ego legam tecum
> Ego quando solus sum michi legam mecum
> In legendo Senecam mea mens est mecum [19]

we feel that the fourteenth century scholar might need mental escape as much as the modern. Since the volume contains also a *physiognomia* and the *algorismus* of Johannes de Sacro Bosco the recreation of Seneca may have been much needed by its readers. Monacensis 5415, a collection of Seneca's works with Cicero, *De Amicitia* and *De Senectute* and the *Paradoxa,* Alanus, *De Planctu Naturae,* a treatise on the marriages of the devil, and Augustine's homily *De Misera Vita Huius Seculi,* has marginal hands pointing to sentiments especially valued. Monacensis 14549, entitled *Moralia Varia,* has Seneca and other works on vices and virtues, including one in the form of a dialogue between a father Peter and a daughter Theodora, and a Lateran decree *pro quiete monachorum;* inserted between folia 261 and 262 is a parchment slip with *probationes,* partly taken from the *Ave Maria,* an alphabet, bits of the *Veni sancte spiritus,* and an autobiographical bit,—"paulus de swaindorff tucher sive textor dixit

[19] Monacensis 3843, fol. 50-52.

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Ego frater Paulus monachus sive sacerdos professus paulus servus Hiesu christi."

An elaborate *florilegium* from Tegernsee (Monacensis 18804) is a cento of hexameter verses from a wide range of classical and later poets, woven into a carefully planned framework with a minimum of original lines by the compiler, divided into books and cantos (*carmina*) with a prelude "de commendacione huius operis," which uses quotations even for the usual *accessus* with the *materia*, *utilitas*, etc., of the book, the whole forming "iocundi flores doctorum poetarum in quibus digna laus virtutum et acerrima effulminacio viciorum egregie continetur." Its 122 folia make any further search for moral precepts utterly unnecessary.

The chief novelties in the collections of primarily literary interest are the ancient authors not known at the time of the earlier collections, and the works and annotations of scholars of the modern period. It should therefore suffice to list a few characteristic examples with a brief survey of their contents, for comparison with earlier collections.

From the numerous entries in Schedel's library, not as yet identified with existing manuscripts: [20]

Oracius Flaccus in omnibus suis voluminibus cum interpretacione Cristoferi Landini. Persius poeta cum elucubracione Bartolomeij Fontij. Iuvenalis cum commentario Domicij Calderini.

Lucanus cum Commentario Omniboni: Opus eleganciarum latine lingue Laurentij Vallensis: Annotaciones Sabellici et Beroaldi in Plinium et alios: Angeli Policiani Miscellaneorum Centuria prima: Dominici Calderini observaciones.

Elegancie ex Bocatio: Francisco Petrarcha: Salustio: Macrobio: Seneca, etc.

Sedulij Opera: Iuvenci: Aratoris: Probe: Lactantius de Resurreccione: Ciprianus de Ligno Crucis: Damasus de Laudibus Pauli: Opera Severi Sulpicij: et aliorum pleraque grece et latine.

Monacensis 72: (Hermann Schedel) Comedies of Terence and of the renaissance period: Poggio's *Facetiae:* Sallust, *Jugurtha:* works of Seneca and Martinus Dumiensis: Juvenal: Horace, *Ars Poetica:* epitaphs, the *Panegyric* of Gallienus and other extracts.

[20] Stauber, *op. cit.*, pp. 110, 113, 140. The spelling and capitalization are those of Schedel's catalogue.

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Among the *marginalia* in Schedel's hand are a "tractatus utilis ad modum studendi" in which the prime requisites listed are *assiduitas, ordinatio, sollicitudo, et similitudo,* a note on the reading of history, and numerous comments on the authors included, of which one on Juvenal is especially worthy of mention: (fol. 142r) "Juvenalis alto satis ingenio pleraque nimis licenter loquitur. In aliquibus autem satiris se religiosum sic praebuit ut nostre fidei doctoribus in nullo cedere indicitur."

Monacensis 362: (written by Hartmann Schedel at Padua and Nuremberg, 1462–7) Eclogues of Theocritus, Calpurnius, Nicolaus Luscus and others; poems from the *Anthologia Latina;* poems, orations, and letters of Italian humanists; Franciscus Barbarus, *Liber de Re Uxoria* with Poggio's letter to Cosimo d' Medici *An Senibus Sit Ducenda Uxor,* and his book *De Infelicitate Principum;* Bartolus, *De Insigniis et Armis.*

Monacensis 14486: (written in Italy in a fine humanistic hand; formerly the property of Johannes Braren of Ingolstadt): Tibullus, Ovid, *Heroides* 15, *Amores;* with notes, epitaphs, etc.

Monacensis 18740: Claudianus, *De Raptu Proserpinae; Moretum;* Cicero, *De Somnio Scipionis.*

Monacensis 23713: (sixteenth century): Ovid, *De Remedio, Heroides;* Petronius, *Carmen de Bello Civili;* Juvenal.

On fol. 153r is written "Juvenalis satire finite sunt 3a feria in vigilis sancte Elizabeth anno domini millesimo quadragesimo octavo in Liptzk," evidently copied from the subscription of the older manuscript used for this book.

Monacensis 24506; (written in 1511–3); Sallust; letters and other excerpts from Aeneas Silvius; comedies of Jacob Locher (*Philomusus*) and Leonardus Aretinus (*Polyxena*) with an *Elucidatio Comoediarum Terentii;* Lucan, two dialogues in translation; poems from Martial and from the *Anthologia Latina,* and Baptista Mantuanus; hymns, some with musical notes; *Moretum.*

Monacensis 24510: Ovid, *De Remedio, Metamorphoses* I, 1–150; Romulus, *Fables; Moretum;* Leonardus Aretinus, *Polyxena;* epitaph of Leonardus by Aeneas Silvius; Adolphus, *Dolegamus;* Hieronymus de Vallibus, *Jhesuida;* a scene from Hrotswitha's *Gallicanus* without the name of the author of the play, noted in the Munich catalogue merely as "scena dramatis"; *Ars Moriundi; Remedia* in German; verses against monks and against women; and in a different but contemporary hand, problems of Aristotle and others *De Corpore Humano,* and a commentary on Aristotle, *De Anima.*

Scattered through the book are comments, *sententiae,* etc., espe-

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cially on vices and virtues; the philosophic works are apparently a separate addition to the volume.

An example of the more formal type of literary collection is Monacensis 78, the first part of the volume including elaborate indices and treatises of Lorenzo Valla, *De Lingue Latine Laudibus* and *De Libero Arbitrio*, written by Schedel in 1481; the rest compiled by Johannes Bernardus de Vallibus. The contents are too numerous and varied for listing here,—even Schedel's indices occupy six *folia* of the volume, but the beginning of these is indicative of the general contents of the books and of his habit of organization in indexing.

(f. 5r) Tabula omnium contentorum huius libri de preclaris operibus plurimorum poetarum et oratorum primo ordine brevi: deinde magis extenso:
Continentur subscripta in isto libro.

Dialogi	Elegie
Elegancie	Carmina et versus
Facetie	Epitaphia sive
Egloge	epigrammata
Fabule	Orationes
Auctoritates	Epitalamia
Defensiones	Epistole
Exempla	Invective.

Detailed indices follow, listing individual works with page references, and rather full titles. The names of leading Italian writers appear frequently, Lorenzo Valla, Leonardus Aretinus, Guarinus Veronensis, Lombardus Asiricus, Petrarch, Poggio, Boccaccio, whose *Griselda* and *Tancred* are here given in Latin translation; of older works we have Cicero's oration for Archias, followed by orations of Guarinus Veronensis on Cicero's works and on Valerius Maximus; there is a corresponding group of material on Tibullus; Ovid's *Heroides* 15, which appears so often in the fifteenth century collections, an excerpt from Jerome, *De Virginitate*, epigrams of Martial, verses from the *Anthologia Latina* and Fulgentius' exposition of the *Aeneid*. Notable inclusions are the letter of Dante to Can Grande, with an epitaph of Dante; sermons taken down

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"post horum recitationes" by Schedel; and on f. 108v a characteristic set of *proverbia auctorum* on youth, love, and money, from Ovid, Tibullus, Virgil, Juvenal, and Seneca.

An entry in Schedel's booklist seems to refer to this manuscript, though Stauber does not make the identification:

"Opera preclara plurimorum poetarum et oratorum in quibus continentur dialogi, epistole, epitalamia, carmina, oraciones, facecie et alia plura, etc." [21]

The manuscript is the best single piece of evidence I have found of the great interest of German students in Italy in the Italian humanists both in their individual creative work and in their study of the classics. But Schedel was a student of a type which could never have been common; it will perhaps be wiser to close with consideration of a collection whose owner remains anonymous, though we may learn much of him from the one book known to have been his.

Monacensis 18910 is the most revealing of the students' books. Of literary works it includes Avianus, *Fables* 1–16, a wide assortment of poems, many of them from the *Anthologia Latina*, and some more modern; Leonardus Aretinus, *Polyxena;* Seneca, *De Remediis;* Virgil, *Bucolics;* Terence, *Andria* and *Eunuchus;* Horace, *Ars Poetica;* Ovid, *Heroides* 15, and the *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis;* Geta. Philosophy is represented by translations of excerpts from Aristotle near the beginning of the volume and others at the end apparently not originally intended to be included with the rest. In addition to treatises on rhetoric, punctuation, prose composition, and letter writing, the formal side of study is illustrated by *Sermones de Statu Scholarum Herbipolensium*, a poem *De Vero Modo Studendi*, a prose treatise on the same subject, beginning "Cum in studio et in moderno modo studendi," seeming to reflect a renaissance in educational method as in other things; an art of poetry composed by Johannes Anserulus Themarensis as a holiday gift for his students, beginning "Strena sit hec nostri monimentum semper amoris," and the same verses on

[21] Stauber, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

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philosophy already noted in Monacensis 11048 and 14991a as the work of Johannes de Werdea. The usual criticism of members of the faculty by the students is given in the verses *De Indoctorum Conditione* (f. 223v):

> Qui debent alios verbo vitaque docere
> Hii modo cernuntur omni virtute carere,
> Presumunt legere cathedris altisque sedere
> Et doctrinare modo nesciunt sillabicare.
> Stulti sciere volunt quod docti non docuerunt,
> Hystrio quando duas vix scit componere partes
> Sic stat sic loquitur velut omnes sciret artes
> Non attendendo quod dicit ipse poeta.
> Qui per sermonem se describit Ciceronem
> Nescit cathonem cum venit anne platonem.

Doggerel and worse, a shocking instance of the quality of Latin that might be used in spite of the treatises on grammar and metre.

The meeting of different nations in the universities is reflected in the little list of characteristics of localities on f. 112r, including *devotio* in Italy, *veritas* in Hungary, *castitas* in Bavaria, *religiositas* in Bohemia, *panis* in Cologne, *ebrietas* in Saxony, and *cervisia* in Erfurt, among others, all bracketed with the simple statement, "Nichil valet per omnia." The students of any nationality had more to learn than their courses covered, as is still the case; for evidence of that polish and social grace that we are told should result from a higher education we have here a poem on the observance of good habits in eating and drinking, preceded by another ascribed to no less an authority on courtly manners than the poet Ovid, —*De Facetia Mense.* As the poem begins with the words,

> Mense doctrinam da nobis discere Christe

the commentator is hard put to reconcile the verses with what he has previously learned of the poet's life. It is sad to note that elementary rules for table behavior are thought necessary here, but I shall forbear to quote them. Having learned how to behave at the table the student was ready for

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social life, and there is abundant evidence of the various forms this might take. Several of the poems included are calculated to brighten any party, as that on the nine tailors who dined sumptuously on one egg, or that of the Swabian and the hare, while on f. 193v begin the *Statuta Lenonum*, which in spite of their title prove to be merely rather innocent and sometimes badly garbled excerpts from Goliardic poems, beginning with the line

De vagorum ordine dicam vobis iura. . . .

The art of love is not omitted, but provided for by poems and treatises at frequent intervals in the volume, especially those of one Samuel who seems to have been most prolific in this one of the humaner studies. There are even ten verses "de ancillis in Carnisbrivio non nuptis," a letter on the love of a certain student for a "mulier civiatica," and, by way of a *remedium*, verses on the shrewdness of women, particularly after marriage. An occasional poem of theological tendency suggests another aspect of the students' thought, however, and we are therefore not surprised to find that in 1498 Brother Mathias offered the book to the monastery at Tegernsee "pro salute anime sue."

While I have presented in this paper only a selection from the manuscripts owned and used by German students in the fifteenth century, as found in a single great library, it has, I hope, been sufficient to indicate the light which such books may throw on the studies and interests of these eager followers of the greater humanists. They have left us ample evidence of their real interest in the literature which they studied, in the teachers who taught them, and in the moral and practical gains won by their study, and although at the same time they have not scrupled to register the more trivial and sometimes less creditable aspects of university life, our modern students may help us to see these diversions of their predecessors in their true perspective.

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VII.—*Hymns and Sequences of the Sarum Use; an Approach to the Study of Medieval Hymnology*

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The present day interest in medieval studies is being felt in the field of hymnology as well as in other types of medieval literature. It is the purpose of this paper to describe the collection of hymns and sequences appearing in the medieval liturgy of Salisbury, England, and to demonstrate the importance and interest of the collection in the study of medieval hymnology.

Before discussing the hymnal itself a few words of explanation regarding the terms *hymn* and *sequence* may not be out of place. The hymns of the medieval church are of two principal types: first, hymns in metrical stanzas, after the models composed by Ambrose and other early writers, and second, sequences in rhythmical prose, later rhymed, originating in the ninth century. In the former sense the term *hymn* gradually separated itself from a group of terms which included the *psalm*, *canticle*, and *spiritual song* of early Christianity. It refers to "metrical poetry consecrated to the celebration of Christian truths and religious events."[1] Hymns of this first type were characteristic of the services of the Christian church from an early period and were incorporated into the Benedictine liturgy from the beginning. They are found in the breviaries of the various medieval liturgies.

In the second signification the term *hymn* refers to a *sequence*, that is, a *sequentia* or *prosa* as it was called in France, which constituted a trope to the alleluia of the mass. Unnecessary confusion in the study of this poetry is caused by the various terms employed to designate what is, in its essentials, a single

[1] *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie;* Hymnes, VI, Hymnographie dans l'Eglise latine.

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type.[2] Dreves and Blume, the editors of the *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, use the term *sequence* in this way to designate the type in general. The term *prose* from *prosa* corresponds to *sequence* from *sequentia*. The word *trope* includes both *sequence* and *prose* as well as all other liturgical interpolations which were added to musical parts of the service. The words *troper* and *tropary* are English forms of the Latin *troparium*, the service book containing sequences, just as *hymnary* is the English form of *hymnarium*, the service book containing hymns. As the word *sequence* seems to be the preferred name for the second great type of hymn developed in the Middle Ages it has been employed here.

Sequences are set apart from hymns technically so called not only by a special name and by their later origin, but by their development within the mass. They belong to the missal as the earlier type belongs to the breviary. Both types were used as processionals and may, therefore, appear in the special service book called the *processional*. For purposes of exact definition or technical expression or historical accuracy, it is important to differentiate between the *hymn* and the *sequence*. For general purposes the word *hymn* commonly includes both.

The Sarum [3] hymns number 231 of which 119 appear in the breviary, 101 in the missal, and the remaining 11 in the processional. Several are duplicated in two of the groups. Sometimes a hymn is cut up into two or more units which are used separately. Consequently an exact count is almost impossible. Furthermore, the lists of hymns in the extant manuscripts of the service books vary slightly in number. The numbers given above are those of the following editions:

Sarum Missal, edited by F. H. Dickinson (Oxford, 1861–1883),
Sarum Breviary, edited by F. Procter and C. Wordsworth (Canterbury, 1879–1886),
Sarum Processional, edited by W. G. Henderson (Leeds, 1882).

[2] W. H. Frere, *The Winchester Troper* (London, 1894), Henry Bradshaw Soc. Pub. VIII, Introduction, pp. viii f.

[3] *Sarum* is a medieval name for Salisbury, England.

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While these editions are scarce they can be obtained and are also available in the larger libraries and in private collections. A list of hymns from the breviary has been printed by William Maskell.[4] Julian has printed general lists of hymns and sequences from which the Sarum pieces may be selected, although with some difficulty.[5] A complete list of the Sarum hymns and sequences will be found in the appendix to this paper. The list has been arranged in such a way as to indicate certain points of interest regarding the collection, to which reference will be made later.

The Sarum Use enjoyed such prominence in medieval England that a brief account of its origin and diffusion is included here. In fact the suitability of its hymns for special study is due partly to the widespread popularity of the whole liturgy.

Among the many distinguished Normans associated with William the Conqueror in the administration of Britain, Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury, holds a high rank. At first a royal chaplain and counsellor of King William, Osmund rose to the chancellorship of the realm.[6] He was one of the commissioners in charge of the Domesday survey and in 1086 was present at the ceremonies at Salisbury which confirmed the feudal authority of the king.[7] Thus he participated in William's administrative and political activities, gaining a first-hand knowledge of the affairs of the kingdom.

In 1078 Osmund became Bishop of Sarum, consecrated by Lanfranc during the pontificate of Gregory VII.[8] He occupied the See until his death in 1099, a period of twenty-one years. Under his inspiration great progress was made in the organization of the religious and intellectual tasks of the diocese,

[4] W. Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (Oxford, 1882), vol. I.

[5] J. Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology* (London, 1925), pp. 172 f., 1043 f.

[6] W. H. Rich-Jones, *Register of St. Osmund*, Rolls Series, LXXVIII (2), Introd. p. xxiii. *Sarum Charters and Documents*, Rolls Series, XCVII, p. 373.

[7] W. H. Rich-Jones, *op. cit.* p. xxiv.

[8] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, Rolls Series, LII, pp. 183–184.

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and that special work initiated in the field of music and liturgy which is peculiarly associated with his name.[9] Salisbury became a center of learning and influence rivalling any in England. Books were gathered and transcribed. Men of ability and skill were attracted to the diocese, the results of whose research became widely known and adopted. The Use of Sarum arose in the activities of this body of learned clergy whom Osmund had gathered together.[10] But in a sense the project was his alone. No doubt his wide experience in visiting many parts of England on state business had led him to observe the varieties of ritual existing at that date. While an essential unity had been preserved, great diversities in liturgical detail had arisen, the result of local traditions and practices. It seemed good, therefore, to Osmund to set up a standard not only to be followed in his diocese but also to be used as a guide by others. The resulting Use of Sarum was a compilation from Anglo-Saxon and Norman models, a revision of the existing Saxon rituals in the light of the best clerical learning of the day, based on Gregorian sources, a Use which might be taken over as a whole or in combination with others.[11]

The name of Osmund, therefore, is associated with an Ordinal or Consuetudinary which met with wide approval and popularity.[12] There were in medieval England four other important liturgies, namely those of York, Lincoln, Hereford, and Bangor, but they were surpassed by that of Sarum. Its intrinsic excellence gained for it a very high reputation which was augmented by those factors of prestige and learning associated with the diocese. "Like the sun in the heavens,"

[9] W. H. Rich-Jones, *op. cit.* p. xxix f. Wilkins, *Concilia*, I, p. 715. Peter of Blois, *Epistula*, 133 (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, ccvii, 595–596). William of Malmesbury, *op. cit.* pp. 183–184.

[10] W. H. Rich-Jones, *op. cit.* Rolls Series, LXXVIII (2), p. 88; also LXXVIII (1), Introd. p. xiv.

[11] H. B. Swete, *Church Services and Service Books* (London, 1896), pp. 14, 15.

[12] Ralph Higden, *Polychronicon*, Rolls Series, XLI (7), p. 294. Brompton, *Chronicon*, in *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores*, X, c. 977. W. H. Rich-Jones, *op. cit.* LXXVIII (1), Introd. p. xiv. Wilkins, *l.c.*

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says Bishop Giles de Bridport of Salisbury, writing in 1256, "the church of Salisbury is conspicuous above all other churches of the world, diffusing its light everywhere and supplying their defects." [13] There is evidence that the Use of Sarum had spread throughout Ireland by 1172, being noted particularly for Dublin about 1220; [14] that it reached Wales, especially St. David's, by 1223; [15] that it was adopted in Scotland and notably in Glasgow in 1259; [16] Bishop Grandisson prescribed the Ordinal for use at the College of St. Mary at Ottery; [17] Bishop Clifford adopted the Use at St. Paul's in London; [18] while references exist testifying to its adoption in Winchester, Exeter, Lichfield, St. Albans, Westminster, and Wells.[19] A wide acquaintance with Sarum practices may be assumed, therefore, in Britain as a whole and in southern England particularly.

It is hardly necessary to demonstrate the popularity of the Sarum hymnal apart from that of the Use in general. All that has been said on this point is pertinent to the hymns. However, it may be recalled that William of Malmesbury mentions with great praise the fame of Osmund's clergy in the department of church music, a reputation which must have increased the prestige of the hymnal.[20]

In connection with the establishment of the Sarum Use the question naturally arises as to what hymns were available for the services of the church at that date. There are two ways to answer this question. One is to seek for collections of hymns existing in the late eleventh century in England

[13] Wilkins, *l.c.*

[14] *Ib.* p. 473. J. H. Todd, "Consuetudinary of St. Osmund," *British Magazine*, xxx (1846), 509.

[15] W. H. Jones, *Diocesan History of Salisbury* (London, 1880), p. 70.

[16] Wilkins, *op. cit.* I, p. 741.

[17] *Monast. dioec. Exon.* p. 272.

[18] W. Maskell, *op. cit.* II, p. 360.

[19] Wilkins, *op. cit.* III, p. 505, for Lichfield. Maskell, *op. cit.* p. 351, for Winchester, Exeter, Westminster; p. 353, for Wells. W. Maskell, *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England* (Oxford, 1882), Pref. p. lxx and n. 14, for St. Albans.

[20] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, Rolls Series, LII, p. 184.

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which may afford some idea of the material already in use in the Saxon church and then to discover whether the hymns in these collections appear in the Sarum ritual. The other way to answer the question is to select from the hymnal the traditional body of hymns which had been handed down from the earlier medieval centuries and treat this group as a nucleus. The remaining hymns, after either of these two methods of selection has been employed, will be found to include for the most part pieces composed after 1100, many of them written for the later medieval feasts or in honor of local saints. Thus the hymnal as a whole may be examined for the permanent element which the liturgists of Osmund's time inherited from the past, and the variable element which was the response to the needs of later centuries and of local cults.

Returning to the first method suggested of determining the sources of the Sarum hymnal, there are found to be five important English manuscripts of *hymnaria* in existence, dating from the eleventh century. They are the *Durham Hymnarium*, two Cottonian manuscripts containing hymns, a *collectarium* once the property of Leofric, Bishop of Exeter, 1050–1072, and a psalter written soon after 1064 containing a complete *hymnarium*.[21] The first of these, the *Durham Hymnarium*, is so called because it has been preserved in the Library of the Dean and Chapter at Durham. It was edited in 1851 for the Surtees Society by Joseph Stevenson, under the title *Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church*. Stevenson added a few hymns from the Cottonian MSS. mentioned above, making a total of 153 hymns. "The present collection," he says, "will be found to embrace the bulk of the hymns used in the Anglican Church before the introduction of the new element which came among us at the period of the Norman Conquest."[22] In Stevenson's opinion it was an error to

[21] Durham Hymnarium MS, Library of the Dean and Chapter, Durham; Cottonian MS, Julius, A. vi; Cottonian MS, Vespasian, D. xii; Harleian MS, 2961, Collectarium; Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS, 391, Psalter.

[22] Pref. p. x.

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associate the collection with Durham since he believed it to be connected rather with Winchester, a fact of more than passing interest, as will appear later. Of the 153 hymns published by Stevenson 79 are found in the Sarum breviary, which, it will be recalled, contains 119 pieces.[23] The remaining hymns have been dated approximately, in the appendix to this paper, according to the opinion of the editors of the larger collections of Latin hymns. In each case the authority for the date is given.

The most important manuscript containing sequences which was extant in the eleventh century in England is the Winchester Troper. Winchester was a center the influence of which was comparable to that of Bangor in Ireland, Limoges in France, or St. Gall in Switzerland, in the sphere of church music. Stevenson thought that the Durham collection originated there. Two forms of the Winchester Troper are known at present. One of them, usually called the *Tropary of Ethelred*, contains a group of 90 sequences written at Winchester sometime during the reign of Ethelred between the years 979 and 1016. A second manuscript was written about a half century later.[24] The Sarum missal contains 31 of the Winchester sequences.

An attempt must now be made to discover whether any of the remaining sequences antedate 1100. The French monks who transcribed the *Tropary of Ethelred* had carried their precious collection into England by way of that much traveled path which led south from Paris through Orleans and Limoges to Bordeaux and beyond to Spain. On this medieval highway at Limoges was situated the Abbey of St. Martial, a center for the composition and diffusion of sequences led only by St. Gall. A large collection of these from manuscripts of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries belonging to St. Martial has been edited by Dreves in the seventh volume of the *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*. A comparison of the indices

[23] The 153 hymns published by Stevenson include parts of the same hymn printed as separate units in certain cases.

[24] Bodleian 775; Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 473.

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of the Sarum sequences, the Winchester Troper and the Limoges collection shows that 20 sequences appear in all three. Five additional pieces belonging to Limoges and dated before 1100 are in the Sarum missal. Nine others are thought by leading editors to antedate 1100. It seems evident from the above that at least 45 sequences from the missal were known in the time of Bishop Osmund. A second group of sequences may be dated approximately by their appearance in an early manuscript which is one of those used in the Legg edition of the Sarum missal. This is called the Lord Crawford manuscript.[25] It is dated between 1150 and 1319. There are 12 sequences in this manuscript which do not appear in the Winchester collection but were probably known before 1300. Fifteen others from the 101 Sarum sequences also antedate the year 1300, in the opinion of the leading editors of Latin hymns. These make the total number in the second group 27. There are 29 sequences remaining which appear in later centuries. The approximate dates of these, together with the authority on which the date is based, are given in the appendix.

The 11 pieces from the Sarum processional which are not found duplicated in the breviary or missal may be divided into two groups. Of these seven belong to the period before 1100 while the remaining four are found in later centuries.

The problem of chronology in the study of Latin hymns is necessarily puzzling. If only the names of the authors had been more generally preserved, dating would be a simpler matter. But the introduction of a hymn into the liturgy meant the loss of its identity as the work of a particular writer. The method of dating used above, that is, approximately by the manuscripts in which the hymns are found, is not altogether satisfactory, for fresh manuscripts sometimes reveal the presence of a composition in a much earlier period than had been previously supposed.

A far more satisfactory method of analyzing the Sarum

[25] *Sarum Missal*, edited by J. W. Legg (Oxford, 1916), Pref.

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hymnal is to study the groups of compositions which it contains in accordance with the various stages of growth and development which these groups represent. This means a study of the hymnal from the point of view of its history, which was already well advanced when Osmund revised the liturgy for his diocese in the eleventh century.

The earliest cycle of hymns used in the services of the church was composed of those incorporated by monastic usage into the liturgy of the Canonical Hours. While the Benedictine Rule directed that hymns should be sung none were mentioned by name. Our knowledge of what hymns were actually used depends upon the sixth century monastic Rules of Caesarius and Aurelian and a small group of hymnal manuscripts of the seventh to the ninth centuries.[26] This primitive cycle has two parts, the group of hymns for Easter and those for the rest of the year, 35 in all. It was brought to England by the mission of St. Augustine to Kent.

The ninth century witnessed a complete overturn of the primitive cycle in favor of an Anglo-Irish cycle, the earliest form of which appears in a manuscript preserved in part at St. Paul's monastery in Carinthia and in part at Karlsruhe.[27] It forms the nucleus of all the later medieval hymn series, expanded as occasion arose to provide more compositions for the different festivals of the liturgical year and for saints' days. The two parts of the primitive cycle developed into three in the Anglo-Irish cycle, namely, the group of hymns for the Proper of the Season, those for the Common of Saints, and those for the Proper of Saints. Hereafter the expansion of the hymnal followed these lines.

Between the ninth century collections and those of the eleventh century which were mentioned as possible sources of the Sarum hymnal there stands the *Bosworth Psalter*, a tenth century psalter of Canterbury which contains a complete

[26] C. Blume, *Der Cursus S. Benedicti Nursini und die liturgischen Hymnen des 6–9 Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 48 f.

[27] W. H. Frere, *Hymns: Ancient and Modern*, Historical Edition (London, 1909), Introd. p. xvi.

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cycle of hymns used in England. This series of hymns is essentially the same as that of the Anglo-Irish cycle and, with some additions, is like that of the Sarum hymnal.

At the period of Osmund's bishopric, therefore, medieval hymns in hymnaries differed little in different localities. Calendars in the various parts of Europe based on Roman models, with a general uniformity in the principal saints' days, required similar hymns. The hymns for the Proper of the Season and for the Common of Saints were of established usage. They were the inheritance of the liturgists of that period. With the twelfth century, however, came a development in the hymns for the Proper of Saints which resulted in great diversity. Naturally this growth is reflected in the Sarum collection although England differed from other parts of medieval Europe in providing a much smaller number of compositions for later medieval feasts and for the praise of local saints.[28]

The sequences of the missal present a much more difficult problem for analysis than the hymns of the breviary. The constant factor or nucleus of compositions found in missals cannot be expected to constitute so large a proportion of the entire number as in the case of hymns in breviaries. For one thing, the writing of sequences began later and in several leading centers at about the same time. Two great schools came into existence; the one in St. Gall reached its highest influence earlier than the French school which, in a measure, superseded it. Thus Notker stands out as the most prominent writer of the former and Adam of St. Victor of the latter, each one renowned for an individual style. Another influence productive of variety in the sequences used was the development of local cults which has been mentioned already in connection with the later hymns incorporated into breviaries. In the third place, the introduction of the later medieval feasts such as Corpus Christi, Presentation of the Virgin, or the Name of

[28] The list of hymns appended to this paper shows clearly the distribution of hymns for this purpose which appeared after 1100.

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Jesus inspired the composition of sequences suitable for the enrichment of the services for these festivals.

The group of Sarum sequences which is found in the Winchester Troper together with the group from the Limoges manuscripts should be fairly representative of the earlier compositions available for liturgical use in the eleventh century. The second group, which is found in the Lord Crawford manuscript of the Sarum missal but not in the Winchester Troper, may or may not be of later origin than those in the Winchester Troper but its hymns are more recent additions representing the choice of liturgists who succeeded Osmund. The third group of sequences appearing in the fourteenth century or later is largely representative of the cults and special feasts already mentioned. It appears, therefore, that the same tendency was felt in the case of sequences and of hymns, namely a tendency to a larger variety in the later medieval centuries resulting from the institution of new feasts and local cults. A similar analysis of the Sarum processionals reveals the same phenomena which have been observed in the growth of the other parts of the hymnal.[29]

It has been pointed out above that Osmund and his associates built on the solid foundation of the universal liturgy of the medieval church when the hymns of the Sarum breviary were selected. The same is true to a lesser degree of the sequences of the missal. With the exception of the compositions written for local saints, the collection is by no means exclusively English but belongs to the church at large. This consideration has a most important bearing on the problem of how far the hymnal reflects the general medieval point of view.[30]

It is inevitable that a collection so representative from the point of view of actual usage should contain many of the best

[29] Consult the appendix for the distribution of the later sequences and of the processionals.

[30] The student may trace the diffusion of the sequences throughout Europe by consulting the various volumes of the *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* or J. Kehrein, *Lateinische Sequenzen des Mittelalters* (Mainz, 1873).

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known medieval hymns. As a matter of fact, the best known hymns are those which have been made familiar by their inclusion in the great medieval liturgies. The authorship of comparatively few is definitely known but there is a small group, nevertheless, the authors of which may be named with some degree of assurance. This group will now be considered and with it a few of the great anonymous hymns. Together they will serve as an illustration of the principal trends of thought found in medieval hymns.

Beginning with the hymns which are positively known to have been written by Ambrose, the father of Latin hymns, there are the following: *Aeterne rerum conditor, Deus creator omnium, Splendor paternae gloriae,* and *Veni redemptor gentium.*[31] All the hymns of Ambrose are full of vigor. The first and second just cited are morning hymns which call the worshipper to a new day of faith, hope, and activity. The night with its dangers to the soul is past. The morning star, the cockcrow, Aurora, and the rising sun suggest to the mind of Ambrose, true Roman in spirit, the challenge of the Christian ideal. The third, an evening hymn, is a petition for peace, rest, and protection from evil during the approaching night. The fourth, a Nativity hymn, reveals the characteristic directness and simplicity of Ambrose's style, especially when he is declaring the great doctrines of the church. In the four hymns mentioned here, as well as in others attributed to him, a staunch and militant faith is the central motive which unifies all his work and constitutes his contribution to the ideals which are reflected in this literature.

The hymnal contains the following pieces by Prudentius: *Ales diei nuntius, Cultor dei memento, Nox et tenebrae et nubila, Inventor rutili dux bone,* and *O redemptor, sume carmen.* The hymns of Prudentius are centos or portions of longer poems which he wrote for private use. As in the compositions of

[31] St. Augustine is the authority for the statement. A recent discussion of the subject may be found in A. S. Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 16–114.

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Ambrose, pagan and biblical echoes are mingled in these morning and evening hymns. They lack the rugged features of Ambrose's verse but they enjoin no less clearly the life of watchfulness and prayer.[32]

Among the earliest Latin hymns *Jesu corona virginum* should be mentioned. It has been attributed to Ambrose because of its similarity to his prose writings. In his *De Virginibus*, which he wrote for his sister Marcellina, he exalted the ideal of lifelong virginity which he found foreshadowed in the Old Testament and confirmed in the New. One of the most beautiful hymns in the Sarum collection, *Jesu corona virginum* reflects perfectly his point of view and that of medieval people in general.

The fifth century is represented by Sedulius, whose great Nativity hymn *A solis ortus cardine* was one of the most popular of the Middle Ages. The second section of the hymn, *Hostis Herodes impie*, enjoyed equal if not greater favor due to its partial inclusion in the liturgical dramas for Christmas. The message of the former hymn was not limited to western lands. It penetrated to the "regions beyond" of medieval missions, for it is known to have been heard even in the horde of Khan Mangu. William de Rubruquis, a Franciscan friar, who was sent by Louis IX to the Mongols upon a diplomatic and religious mission, finally reached the imperial presence on the third of January, 1254. Exhausted by many hardships of travel and by ill treatment on the part of those through whose lands they came, ragged and hungry, Rubruquis and his companions announced their arrival by singing the Nativity hymn before the entrance of the Khan's magnificent tent. The record has it that scant attention was paid to the unfamiliar strains, but the supreme faith of the envoys was not shaken.[33]

Venantius Fortunatus is the greatest representative of the

[32] See A. S. Walpole, *op. cit.* pp. 115 f., for a discussion of the *Cathemerinon* of Prudentius; also E. K. Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 207–213.

[33] For an account of this incident see C. R. Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography* (London: Frowde, no date), II, p. 355.

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sixth century. His magnificent hymns *Pange lingua gloriosi proelium certaminis*, its continuation *Lustra sex qui iam peracta*, and *Vexilla regis prodeunt* were written to celebrate the reception of a relic of the cross at Poictiers. They are conspicuous among the Christian poems of all ages. Fortunatus wrote an Annunciation hymn *Quem terra pontus aethera*, which is almost equally familiar. The Sarum collection contains in addition three processionals, which are parts of his poem *Tempora florigero*, for Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost respectively, all beginning with the line *Salve festa dies, toto venerabilis aevo.*

Gregory the Great has long been credited with the authorship of several Latin hymns, among them a series for Lent. Although the authorship is uncertain, the hymns illustrate admirably his ideals, which were those of the monastic life. There are ten hymns in this group which may be illustrated by *Ex more docti mystico.* The author exalts the practice of sobriety, temperance, and restraint, emphasizing the ascetic phase of the medieval ideal.[34]

The ninth century saw a great revival of interest in liturgical poetry. It was the period which produced the sequence, but the writing of hymns of the older type also received fresh impetus. One of the most famous hymns inspired by the Virgin dates from this century, *Ave stella maris.* The Virgin had always received high honor in the hymns of the church from the very beginning but this hymn was destined to be a particular favorite among all the songs written in her praise. Another ninth century hymn which still occupies a prominent place in modern hymnals of all denominations is the Palm Sunday processional, *Gloria, laus, et honor*, written by Theodulphus of Orleans.[35]

By the tenth century many of the greatest Latin hymns had appeared. Perhaps the most famous of all is *Veni creator spiritus*, the author of which is unknown. "No other hymn," says Walpole, "except those of the daily offices, has been so

[34] Other hymns are *Clarum decus jejunii, Audi benigne conditor, Ecce tempus idoneum*, and *Summi largitor praemii.*

[35] See J. Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 426.

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frequently and widely used as this."[36] It is the highest expression of Christian veneration of the Holy Spirit which medieval hymnology produced. Another outstanding medieval hymn, *Jesu dulcis memoria,* usually attributed to St. Bernard of Clairvaux, is now believed to date from the eleventh century. Lovers of this hymn, however, will not easily surrender their belief that Bernard is its author, as a recent article in *Speculum* bears witness.[37]

By this time the writers of St. Gall had produced the first great sequences, in rhythmical prose, rugged and unconventional in structure, composed for the great traditional festivals of the liturgical year, such as Nativity, Easter, and Pentecost. The name of Notker is associated with poetry like this. He is credited with the authorship of many sequences, among them, from the Sarum collection, *Benedicta semper sit beata trinitas, Clare sanctorum senatus apostolorum, Laudes salvatori voce modulemus,* and *Sancti spiritus adsit nobis gratia, quae corda,* but it cannot be proved. Limoges also rose to prominence before 1000 although the climax of its influence came later than that of St. Gall. Sarum sequences found in Limoges manuscripts before 1000 are *Epiphaniam domino canamus gloriosam* and *Fulgens praeclara rutilat,* both anonymous. The eleventh century is marked by the appearance of a great sequence attributed to Hermannus Contractus, *Rex omnipotens die hodierna,* and one of the best known of all sequences for Easter, *Victimae paschali.* The latter illustrates the transition from the style of Notker to that of Adam of St. Victor, who is considered the greatest writer of the French school of sequences.

The Sarum collection boasts four Victorine sequences of unquestioned authorship: *Genovefae solemnitas solemne, Laudes crucis attollamus, Lux jocunda lux insignis,* and *Zyma vetus*

[36] A. S. Walpole, *op. cit.* p. 375.

[37] For eleventh century authorship, see Dom J. Pothier, "Antienne Salve Regina," *Rev. du Chant grégorien,* x (1902), 147; Etienne Gilson, "Sur le Jesu dulcis memoria," *Speculum,* III (1928), 322.

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expurgetur.[38] With these should be mentioned *Hierusalem et Sion filiae*, probably by the same author and one of the greatest medieval hymns written for the dedication of a church. It is notable for its elaborate typology and mysticism, both striking characteristics of Adam of St. Victor's poetry.

The great increase in the number of compositions for saints' days may be observed at this period. The beautiful hymn to St. Genevieve which has just been mentioned is a fair illustration of the type, which narrates the principal scenes in the life of the saint, his or her miracles, and the efficacy of his or her intercession. St. Genevieve enjoyed a reputation which was local rather than general throughout Europe but St. Nicholas was widely revered. A very popular sequence honoring St. Nicholas, *Congaudentes exultemus vocali*, appears in the Sarum collection. The English loved St. Nicholas, who ranked among them highest in popularity of all non-biblical saints. This is attested by the fact of 437 dedications in his honor, representing every county in England.[39] Henry Osborn Taylor has a delightful discussion of the sequence just mentioned.[40]

The climax of devotion to the Virgin which was characteristic of the later Middle Ages found expression preeminently in the prose and poetry of Bernard of Clairvaux. His sequence for the Assumption, *Laetabundus exsultet . . . Regem regum*, was widely known and used. A favorite sequence for the Annunciation, *Mittet ad virginem non quemvis angelum*, dates from the same century and may have been the work of Abelard.

The thirteenth century brought the feast of Corpus Christi and, with it, that series of remarkable hymns and sequences which has been attributed to St. Thomas Aquinas. Four are in the Sarum collection, *Lauda Sion Salvatorem*, *Pange lingua*

[38] E. Misset et P. Aubry, *Les Proses d'Adam de Saint-Victor* (Paris, 1900), Introd.

[39] F. Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications* (London, 1899), pp. 489, 499. F. Bond, *Dedications and Patron Saints of English Churches* (London, 1914), pp. 17, 66.

[40] *Mediaeval Mind* (New York, 1914), II, p. 242.

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gloriosi corporis mysterium, Sacris solenniis juncta sunt gaudia, and *Verbum supernum prodiens.* They illustrate the ideal blending of doctrinal expression and mystic fervor of which the author was the perfect exponent. *Veni sancte spiritus,* the so called "golden sequence," also appears in this century. It must be grouped with *Veni creator spiritus,* which is its only rival. Both hold prominent positions in the various lists of the Seven Great Hymns of the Middle Ages. A third hymn from the list of Seven, *Dies irae dies illa,* belongs not only to the medieval period but to all subsequent ages.

Commentators upon Latin hymnology have often traced the development of thought which is manifest in the long succession of hymns produced throughout the medieval centuries. Attention has been directed to the objective character of the Ambrosian and other early lyrics, their insistence upon doctrinal beliefs and their simple statement of the ideals of Christian life. With the introduction of monastic asceticism the hymns begin to reflect still further that particular aspect of the medieval religious attitude. This is true not only in the hymns attributed to Gregory the Great which are concerned rather with problems of conduct but also in hymns which stress the phase of mystic piety fostered as well by the monastic life. The subjective side of the Christian experience begins to be prominent and becomes increasingly so in the work of Adam of St. Victor and St. Bernard. Thus in general terms it may be said that the Sarum collection reflects such a progression of ideas. But, independently of authorship or period of composition, the hymns of the collection may be viewed as a cross section of medieval thought in the realm of religion, revealing many ways of thinking gradually built up through the centuries into a complete structure of religious experience.

So much for the general synthesis of thought which is manifest in Sarum hymns. There remain many significant contacts with particular ideas which are primarily medieval. A widespread notion exists that Christian hymns of all ages are very much alike. This is true, necessarily, to the extent to which

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Christian hymns express the fundamentals of Christianity. But it is not true in a host of matters where events or attitudes of a definite period are revealed. For example, the Sarum hymnal contains nothing to correspond to the group of stirring missionary hymns of the present day. Neither does it possess the "revival" type of hymn. Again, it fails to voice the inspiration which arises from the social motive. On the other hand, the hymns of the Sarum collection are characterized by many ideas and varieties of expression belonging to their own age. For example, the reality of the world of evil spirits was ever present to the medieval consciousness. One may trace this reality, beginning with the hymns of Ambrose and Prudentius, in which the cockcrow banishes the demon throng. Other hymns disclose that most characteristic of medieval notions regarding hell and its demons which was dramatized by the English under the title "Harrowing of Hell." It is the scene from the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus* where the narrative is given of the descent of Jesus into hell and his release of Adam and the host of captives there.[41] The sequence *Prome casta contio* best illustrates this belief.

In contrast with the demons of the pit were the angelic hierarchies, another reality of the medieval point of view. Praise of the archangels, especially Michael, leader of the heavenly host, affords the natural opening for the expansion of this theme. All the victorious ranks of heaven are present in these hymns uniting in one magnificent chorus of praise. *Ad celebres rex caelice* is a striking example of the pieces devoted to the subject.

The hymns also reflect the widespread devotion to the saints. St. Genevieve and St. Nicholas have been mentioned already in this connection. There are in all, in the Sarum collection, fifty-one hymns in honor of individual saints. Sixteen are biblical saints to whom thirty hymns are dedicated. Fourteen are non-biblical saints to whom twenty-one hymns are dedicated.

[41] *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, American Reprint (Buffalo, 1886), VIII, pp. 448–454.

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As a final instance in which the Sarum hymnal reveals the life and thought of the Middle Ages, the close connection between certain liturgical hymns and the liturgical drama may be cited. Kretzman has traced the phrases and sentences from various parts of the liturgy which were incorporated into the texts of the plays. Hymns contributed their share to the dialogue, as has been mentioned in the case of *Hostis Herodes impie*.[42] Perhaps the most important, however, is *Victimae paschali laudes*, which is embodied either in full or in part in sixty-eight forms of the Easter drama.[43] Hymns which supplied parts of the dialogue for the liturgical drama must have been familiarly known and perhaps better understood than others which were not thrown into such prominence. When the student of medieval hymns reviews them in their appropriate setting, he too gains from their surroundings a more intimate appreciation of their meaning. The advantage of so doing is by no means restricted to hymns used in the drama but to a greater or lesser degree the method applies to the study of every hymn in the collection. No student of Shakespeare would consider a study of the lyrics aside from the plays of which they form an integral part, for they share the atmosphere and setting of the scene and sometimes help to carry the thread of the plot. Just as the Shakespearean lyric cannot be torn from its position without destroying its complete significance, so the medieval Latin hymn should not be removed from its appropriate place if its meaning is to be preserved. The possibilities, therefore, of the study of medieval hymnology when a liturgical collection is used, especially so representative a collection as that of Sarum, are limited only by the dimensions of medieval religious life.

[42] P. E. Kretzman, *The Liturgical Element in the Earliest Form of the Medieval Drama* (Bull. U. of Minn., 1916), p. 60.

[43] See J. Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 1223.

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APPENDIX

Sarum Hymns and Sequences

The following abbreviations are used in this appendix:

D.H. *Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, edited by J. Stevenson, Surtees Soc. Pub. vol. XXIII, 1851. This is the *Durham Hymnarium*.

W.T. *Tropary of Ethelred*, Surtees Soc. Pub. vol. LX (published as an appendix to the *York Missal*). This is the *Winchester Troper*.

Anal. Hymn. *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* (Leipzig, 1886–1922), 55 vols. Edited by C. Blume and G. M. Dreves.

MS. A. Lord Crawford manuscript, see J. W. Legg, *Sarum Missal* (Oxford, 1916).

MS. B. Lord Crawford manuscript, see J. W. Legg, *Sarum Missal* (Oxford, 1916).

References are also made in this appendix to the following works:

C. U. J. Chevallier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum* (Louvain, 1892, 1897, 1904), vols. I, II, III.

W. H. Frere, *Hymns, Ancient and Modern* (London, 1909).

J. Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology* (London, 1925).

J. Kehrein, *Lateinische Sequenzen des Mittelalters* (Mainz, 1873).

J. Mearns, *Early Latin Hymnaries* (Cambridge, 1913).

F. J. Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1853–1855), vols. I, II, III.

Note: Hymns from Stevenson's collection not found in the Durham Hymnarium are starred.

A Roman numeral in the second column indicates the century.

Breviary

First Line	*Date*	*Authority*	*Place in Liturgy*
A patre unigenitus	before 1100	D.H.	Epiphany
A solis ortus cardine	before 1100 (Sedulius, V)	D.H.	Nativity
Ad cenam agni providi	before 1100	D.H.	Easter
*Adesto sancta trinitas	before 1100	D.H.	Trinity Sunday
Aestimavit ortulanum see Collaudemus Magdalenae			
Aeterna caeli gloria	before 1100	D.H.	Epiphany
Aeterne rerum conditor	before 1100 (Ambrose, IV)	D.H.	Epiphany
Aeterne rex altissime	before 1100	D.H.	Ascension
Aeterni patris ordine see O dei sapientiae			
Aeternae virgo memoriae	XV	Chevallier, 631	St. Katherine
Ales diei nuntius	before 1100 (Prudentius, IV)	D.H.	Epiphany

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Andrea pie sanctorum mitissime	before 1100	D.H.	St. Andrew
Angulare fundamentum see Urbs beata Hierusalem			
*Annue Christe secularum domine	before 1100	D.H.	Common of Apostles
Antra deserti teneris sub annis see Ut queant laxis			
Audi benigne conditor	before 1100	D.H.	Lent
Aurea luce et decore roseo	before 1100	Mearns	SS. Peter and Paul
Aurora iam spargit polum	before 1100	Mearns	Lent
Aurora lucis rutilat	before 1100	D.H.	Easter
Ave maris stella	before 1100	D.H.	Annunciation
Ave mater Anna	XV	Chevallier, 1928	St. Anne
Bartholomee caeli sidus aureum	before 1100	D.H.	St. Bartholomew
Beata nobis gaudia	before 1100	D.H.	Pentecost
Beate Simon et Thadee inclite	before 1100	D.H.	St. Simon and St. Jude
Bina celestis aulae luminaria	before 1100	D.H.	St. James
Caeli deus sanctissime	before 1100	D.H.	Epiphany
Celestis formam gloriae	XV	Chevallier, 3456	Transfiguration
*Chorus novae Hierusalem	before 1100	D.H.	Easter
Christe qui lux es et dies	before 1100	D.H.	Lent
Christe redemptor omnium conserva tuos famulos	before 1100	Mearns	All Saints
Christe redemptor omnium ex patre patris unice	before 1100	D.H.	Nativity
Christe sanctorum decus angelorum	before 1100	D.H.	St. Michael
Christi miles gloriosus	XII	Julian, p. 231	St. Vincent
Clangat pastor	undated	Chevallier, 3291	St. Thomas Becket
Clarum decus jejunii	before 1100	D.H.	Lent
Collaudemus Magdalenae	XIV	Julian, p. 242	St. Mary Magdalene
Conditor alme siderum	before 1100	D.H.	Advent
Consors paterni luminis	before 1100	D.H.	Epiphany
Crux fidelis terras caelis	XVI	Chevallier, 4020	Invention of the Cross
Cultor dei memento	before 1100 (Prudentius, IV)		Passion Sunday

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Deus creator omnium	before 1100 (Ambrose, IV)	D.H.	Epiphany
Deus tuorum militum	before 1100	D.H.	Common of a Martyr
Ecce iam noctis tenuatur umbra	before 1100	D.H.	First Sunday after Trinity
Ecce tempus idoneum	before 1100	Mearns	Lent
Ex more docti mystico	before 1100	D.H.	Lent
Exultet caelum laudibus	before 1100	D.H.	Common of Apostles
Exultet cor praecordiis	XV	Julian, p. 361	Name of Jesus
Felix Anna prae aliis	XVI	Anal. Hymn. IV, 80; V, 121	St. Anne
Festum matris gloriose	XV	Julian, p. 376	Visitation B.V.M.
Hostis Herodes impie see A solis ortus cardine			Epiphany
Iam Christus astra ascenderat	before 1100	D.H.	Pentecost
Iam lucis orto sidere	before 1100	D.H.	Advent
Immense caeli conditor	before 1100	D.H.	Epiphany
Impleta gaudent viscera see Iam Christus astra ascenderat			Pentecost
In Annae puerperio	XVI	Chevallier, 8518	St. Anne
In passione domini	XIII	Mone, 84	Holy Cross
Inviolata integra et casta	XV	Kehrein, 283	Purification B.V.M.
Iste confessor domini sacratus	before 1100	D.H.	Common of a Confessor
Jesu auctor clementiae see Jesu dulcis memoria			Name of Jesus
Jesu corona virginum	before 1100	D.H.	Common of a Virgin
Jesu dulcis memoria	undated		Name of Jesus
Jesu nostra redemptio	before 1100	D.H.	Ascension
Jesu quadragenariae	before 1100	D.H.	Lent
Jesu redemptor omnium	before 1100	D.H.	Common of a Confessor
Jesu salvator seculi redemptis ope subveni	before 1100	Mearns	All Saints
*Jesu salvator seculi verbum patris altissimi	before 1100	D.H.	Easter
Lucis creator optime	before 1100	D.H.	Epiphany
Lustra sex qui iam peracta see Pange lingua gloriosi proelium			

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Lux ecce surgit aurea.....	before 1100	D.H.	Epiphany
Magnae deus potentiae....	before 1100	D.H.	Epiphany
Martyr dei qui unicum....	before 1100	D.H.	Common of a Martyr
Mathia juste duodeno solio.	before 1100	D.H.	St. Matthew
Mathee sancte bino pollens munere.....	before 1100	D.H.	St. Matthew
Mundi salus affutura.....	XV	Julian, p. 777	Visitation B.V.M.
Nascitur ex patre Zebedaeo.	undated		St. John Evangelist
Nocte surgentes vigilemus omnes.....	before 1100	D.H.	First Sunday after Trinity
Nos imago trinitatis.....	XVI	Chevallier, 12225	Holy Cross
Nox atra rerum contegit...	before 1100	D.H.	Epiphany
Nox et tenebrae et nubila..	before 1100 (Prudentius, IV)	D.H.	Epiphany
Nunc sancte nobis spiritus..	before 1100	D.H.	Advent
O dei sapientiae.....	XV	Julian, p. 826	Presentation B.V.M.
O gloriosa domina see Quem terra pontus aethera			
O lux beata trinitas.....	before 1100	D.H.	Trinity
O Maria noli flere see Collaudemus Magdalenae			
O morum doctor egregie...	undated		St. Andrew
O nata lux de lumine.....	before 1100	Mearns	Transfiguration
O nimis felix meritique celsi see Ut queant laxis			
O pater sancte mitis atque pie.....	before 1100	D.H.	Trinity Sunday
O quam glorifica luce coruscas.....	before 1100	D.H.	Assumption B.V.M.
O salutaris fulgens stella maris.....	XVI	Chevallier, 13679	Visitation B.V.M.
O sator rerum reparator aevi.....	before 1100	Mearns	Transfiguration
O Thoma Christi perlustrator lateris	before 1100	D.H.	St. Thomas
Omnes fideles plaudite.....	XV	Chevallier, 14046	Presentation B.V.M.
Oportet devota mente.....	undated		St. Nicholas
Pange lingua gloriosi corporis mysterium.....	XIII (Aquinas?)		Corpus Christi

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*Pange lingua gloriosi proelium certaminis.....	before 1100 (Venantius Fortunatus, VI)	D.H.	Passion Sunday
Pange lingua gloriosi proelium certaminis innovatum in figura, etc.....	undated		Iconia Salvatoris
Plasmator hominis deus ...	before 1100	D.H.	Lent
Primo dierum omnium....	before 1100	D.H.	Epiphany
Quem terra pontus aethera.	before 1100 (Venantius Fortunatus, VI)	D.H.	Annunciation
Quod chorus vatum venerandus olim.....	before 1100	D.H.	Purification B.V.M.
Rector potens verax deus..	before 1100	D.H.	Advent
Rerum creator optime.....	before 1100	D.H.	Epiphany
Rerum deus tenax vigor...	before 1100	D.H.	Advent
Rex gloriose martyrum....	before 1100	D.H.	Common of Martyrs
Sacrae parentis virginis....	XIV	Chevallier, 17662	Presentation B.V.M.
Sacris solenniis juncta sunt gaudia.....	XIII (Aquinas?)		Corpus Christi
Salvator mundi domine....	XII	Julian, p. 988	Nativity
Sancte dei preciose.....	before 1100	D.H.	St. Stephen
Sanctorum meritis inclita gaudia.....	before 1100	D.H.	Common of Martyrs
Sedentes in supernae majestatis.....	XII	Anal. Hymn. x, 68	Holy Innocents
Sermone blando angelus see Aurora lucis rutilat			
Somno refectis artubus....	before 1100	D.H.	Epiphany
Sospitati dedit aegros.....	XIV	Anal. Hymn. xl, 298	St. Nicholas
Splendor paternae gloriae..	before 1100 (Ambrose, IV)	D.H.	Epiphany
Summae deus clementiae ..	before 1100	D.H.	Lent
Summi largitor praemii ...	before 1100	D.H.	Lent
Te lucis ante terminum....	before 1100	D.H.	Advent
Telluris ingens conditor....	before 1100	D.H.	Epiphany
Te mundi climata	XIV	Chevallier, 20166	Nativity

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Tibi Christe splendor patris. Vita virtus cordium	before 1100	D.H.	St. Michael
Tu Christe nostrum gaudium see Aeterne rex altissime			
Tu trinitatis unitas	before 1100	D.H.	Epiphany
*Urbs beata Hierusalem	before 1100	D.H.	Dedication of Church
Ut queant laxis resonare fibris	before 1100	D.H.	St. John Baptist
Veni creator spiritus	before 1100	D.H.	Pentecost
Veni redemptor gentium	before 1100 (Ambrose, IV)	D.H.	Nativity
Verbum supernum prodiens a patre olim exiens	before 1100	D.H.	Advent
Verbum supernum prodiens nec patris linquens	XIII (Aquinas?)		Corpus Christi
Vexilla regis prodeunt	before 1100 (Venantius Fortunatus, VI)	D.H.	Passion Sunday
Virginis proles opifexque matris	before 1100	D.H.	Common of a Virgin
Vox clara ecce intonat	before 1100	Mearns	Advent

MISSAL

A rea virga primae matris Evae	before 1100	W.T.	Assumption B.V.M.
A te praeco virgo amabilis	XVI	Chevallier, 42	St. Gabriel
Ad celebres rex caelice	before 1100	W.T.	St. Michael
Adest nobis dies alma	before 1319	MS. A	Common of a Confessor
Alle-caeleste necnon et perenne-luya	before 1100	W.T.	Nativity B.V.M.
Alleluya nunc decantet	before 1319	MS. A	Common of an Apostle
Alma chorus domini nunc pangat	before 1100	W.T.	Pentecost
Alma cohors una	before 1100	W.T.	Common of a Confessor
Altissima providente cuncta	XV	Kehrein, 204	Presentation B.V.M.
Altithroni vestigia imitantur see Benedicta sit			
Ave Maria gratia plena dominus tecum Virgo serena, etc.	before 1319	MS. A	B.V.M.

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Ave mundi spes Maria ave mitis	before 1319	MS. A	B.V.M.
Ave praeclara maris stella	before 1100	Kehrein, 254	Assumption B.V.M.
Benedicta semper sit beata trinitas	before 1100	Anal. Hymn. VII, 96 (Limoges)	Transfiguration
Benedicta sit beata (sancta) trinitas	before 1100	W.T.	Holy Trinity
Celebremus in hac die festum	XVI	Kehrein, 212	Visitation B.V.M.
Celsa pueri concrepent melodia	before 1100	W.T.	Holy Innocents
Cenam cum discipulis Christe	XV	Kehrein, 57	Five Wounds
Christi hodierna pangimini omnes una	before 1100	W.T.	Nativity
Christo inclito candida	before 1100	Anal. Hymn. VII, 118 (Limoges)	All Saints
Clara sanctorum senatus apostolorum	before 1100	W.T.	Common of an Apostle
Coeleste organum hodie sonuit	before 1100	Anal. Hymn. VII, 35 (Limoges)	Nativity
Concinnat orbis cunctus alleluya	before 1100	W.T.	Easter
Congaudentes exultemus vocali	before 1100	Kehrein, 665	St. Nicholas
Corde lingua mente tota Armagilli	XV	Anal. Hymn. XL, 151	St. Armagillus
Dic nobis quibus e terris	before 1100	W.T.	Easter
Dies irae dies illa	XIII	Julian, p. 295	For the Dead
Dies iste celebratur in quo pie	XV	Kehrein, 185	Conception B.V.M.
Dulce nomen Jesu Christi felix omen see Dulcis Jesus Nazarenus			
Dulcis Jesu memoria	before 1100	Frere, p. 357	Name of Jesus

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Dulcis Jesus Nazarenus	XIV	Kehrein, 33	Name of Jesus
Ecce pulchra canorum	before 1100	W.T.	Common of Martyrs
Eia gaudens caterva ovanter eia	XIV	Anal. Hymn. VIII, 120	St. Alban
Eia musa die quaeso praeclara	before 1100	W.T.	Pentecost
Eia recolamus laudibus piis digna	before 1100	Anal. Hymn. LIII, 16	Nativity
Epiphaniam domino canamus gloriosam	before 1100	W.T.	Epiphany
Exsultemus in hac die festiva	XIV	Anal. Hymn. VIII, 290	Common of a Virgin Martyr
Fulgens praeclara rutilat	before 1100	W.T.	Easter
Gaude sancta Genovefa pia prudens	XVI	Chevallier, 6935	St. Genevieve
Gaudeamus Messia	undated		St. Osmund
Genovefae solemnitas solemne	XIV	Kehrein, 805	St. Genevieve
Hac clara die turma festiva	before 1100	W.T.	Assumption B.V.M.
Hierusalem et Sion filiae	XII	Kehrein, 870	Dedication of church
Hodiernae lux diei celebris in matris	XIV	Kehrein, 202	B.V.M.
In hac die laetabunda	XIV	Kehrein, 496	St. Anthony
In honore salvatoris sancti Rochi	XVI	Kehrein, 697	St. Roch
Jesu pulcher in decore see Dulcis Jesus Nazarenus			
Johannes, Jesu Christo multum dilecte virgo	before 1100	Anal. Hymn. LIII, 168	St. John the Evangelist
Jubilemus omnes una deo nostro	before 1100	Anal. Hymn. VII, 13 (Limoges)	Advent
Jubilemus pia mente voce corde	XVI	Julian, p. 608	Against mortality
Laetabundus exsultet fidelis chorus, coeli	before 1319	MS. A	Dedication of church

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Laetabundus exsultet . . . regem regum	XII	Kehrein, 13	Assumption B.V.M.
Lauda Sion salvatorem	XIII (Aquinas?)	Kehrein, 150	Corpus Christi
Laude jocunda melos turma	before 1100	W.T.	SS. Peter and Paul
Laudes crucis attollamus	XII	Kehrein, 60	Holy Cross
Laudes deo (iam) devotas dulci voce	before 1100	W.T.	Pentecost
Laudes salvatori voce modulemus	before 1100	W.T.	Easter
Laus devota mente choro	XIII	Anal. Hymn. XL, 379	Common of an Evangelist
Lux jocunda lux insignis	XII	Julian, p. 705	Pentecost
Magnus deus in universa terra	before 1100	W.T.	St. Stephen
Mane prima sabbati surgens	XII	Kehrein, 93	Easter
Mirabilis deus in sanctis	before 1100	W.T.	Common of Martyrs
Missus Gabriel de caelis	before 1319	MS. A	Advent
Mittit ad sterilem non quemvis nuntium	XIV	Anal. Hymn. VIII, 53	B.V.M.
Mittit ad virginem non quemvis angelum	before 1319	MS. A	Annunciation
Moesta parentis Christi	XVI	Kehrein, 229	Compassion B.V.M.
Mulier laudabilis	XIII	Chevallier, 11733	Holy Women
Nato canunt omnia	before 1100	W.T.	Nativity
Nunc lactetur plebs fidelis	XV	Sarum Breviary, III, Pref. p. xcvii	St. Gabriel
Nunc luce alma splendescit	XIII	Anal. Hymn. XXXVII, 276	St. Peter's Chains
O ancilla Christi Maria	XVI	Anal. Hymn. XXXVII, 67	For Women before childbirth
Odas hac in die lactas	before 1319	MS. A	St. Katherine
Omnes una decantemus	XV	Anal. Hymn. XXXIV, 327	St. Sebastian
Organicis canamus modulis nunc N. sollemnia	before 1100	W.T.	Common of a Martyr
O sancte Sebastiane	XV	Chevallier, 13708	St. Sebastian
Post partum virgo Maria	XIV	Chevallier, 15178	Assumption B.V.M.

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Proloquium altum recitemus	XVI	Anal. Hymn. VIII, 167	St. Gabriel
Prome casta contio	before 1100	W.T.	Easter
Quam dilecta tabernacula domini	XII	Kehrein, 871	Dedication of church
Qui regis sceptra forti dextra	before 1100	W.T.	Advent
Regnantem sempiterna per saecla	before 1100	W.T.	Advent
Resonet sacrata iam turma	before 1100	Anal. Hymn. VII, 429 (Limoges)	Pentecost
Rex omnipotens die hodierna	before 1100	W.T.	Ascension
Sacerdotem Christi Martinum	before 1100	W.T. Henry Bradshaw Soc. Pub. VIII	St. Martin
Sacrosancta hodiernae festivitatis	before 1319	MS. A	St. Andrew
Salus aeterna indeficiens mundi	before 1100	W.T,	Advent
Salve crux sancta arbor	before 1100	Kehrein, 64	Invention of Cross
Salve sancta parens	XV	Kehrein, 319	B.V.M.
Sancti Baptistae Christi praeconis	before 1100	Anal. Hymn. LIII, 163	St. John Baptist
Sancti spiritus adsit nobis gratia, quae corda	before 1100	W.T.	Pentecost
Si vis vere gloriari et a deo coronari	XIV	Anal. Hymn. VIII, 15	Crown of Thorns
Sollemne canticum hodie resonet	undated	MS. B	St. Thomas Becket
Solemnitas sancti Pauli	XIV	MS. B	St. Paul
Sonent regi nato nova	before 1100	W.T.	Nativity
Stola jocunditatis Laurentium	XII	Kehrein, 625	St. Laurence
Stola jocunditatis Vincentium	before 1319	MS. A	St. Vincent
Testamento veteri Anna fuit	XIV	Anal. Hymn. VIII, 125	St. Anne

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Veni mater gratiae fons misericordiae	XVI	Kehrein, 282	Visitation B.V.M.
Veni sancte spiritus et emitte	before 1319	MS. A	Pentecost
Verbum bonum et suave	before 1319	MS. A	B.V.M.
Victimae paschali laudes	before 1100	Julian, p. 1222	Easter
Virginis venerandae de numero	before 1100	Anal. Hymn. LIII, 246	Common of Virgins
Virgo vernans velut rosa	XIII	Anal. Hymn. XL, 371	St. Winifred
Zyma vetus expurgetur	XIII	Kehrein, 91	Easter

PROCESSIONAL

Gloria, laus, et honor	before 1100 (Theodulphus of Orleans)	Julian, p. 426	Palm Sunday
Inventor rutili dux bone luminis	before 1100 (Prudentius, IV)		Easter
O redemptor sume carmen temet concinentium	before 1100 (Prudentius, IV)		Lord's Supper
Quem aethera et terra atque mare	before 1100	Chevallier, 16260	Circumcision
Salve festa dies . . . Qua caro	XIV	Chevallier, 17932	Corpus Christi
Salve festa dies . . . Qua deus	before 1100 (Venantius Fortunatus, VI)		Easter
Salve festa dies . . . Qua Christi	XV	Chevallier, 17933	Visitation B.V.M.
Salve festa dies . . . Qua deus	before 1100 (Venantius Fortunatus, VI)		Ascension

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Salve festa dies . . . Qua Jesus	XVI	Chevallier, 17951	Name of Jesus
Salve festa dies . . . Qua nova	before 1100 (Venantius Fortunatus, VI)		Pentecost
Salve festa dies . . . Qua sponsa	XIV	Chevallier, 17961	Dedication of church

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VIII.—*Alexander at the Caspian Gates*

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In Greek and Latin authors the term Caspian Gates, *Caspiae portae*, Κάσπιαι πύλαι is found to designate successively any one of three several defiles:

(1) the Caspian Gates proper, a set of defiles between Media and Parthia beginning about fifty miles southeast of Rhagae (modern Rai, about five miles south of Teheran) cleaving Mount Caspius, a range projected from the Taurus (Elburz) Mountains. Contrary to what is probably the prevailing impression, the Caspian Gates received their name from the mountain named from the Caspii, a tribe living east of it. They are neither a direct approach to the Caspian Sea, nor did they receive their name from it.

(2) the pass of Dariel (Darial, Daryal) through the central Caucasus.

(3) the pass of Derbend (Derbent) between the eastern end of a spur of the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea.

It is an accepted fact that the Alexander of history was associated only with (1); it is generally held that the Alexander of Romance was associated only with (3), the pass of Derbend.[1] A critical examination of the sources, however, will show that Alexander does not appear in romance at the pass of Derbend until the time of Heraclius, and that the original form of the legend of the building of the Gate associated him with (2), the pass of Dariel, and that all the various forms of the legend of the building of the Gate are ultimately derived from this.

The only classical geographer who fully distinguishes the three gates is Ptolemy, who calls (1) Κάσπιαι πύλαι, (2) Σαρματικαὶ πύλαι, and (3) Ἀλβάνιαι πύλαι. It was hardly to be

[1] Tarn, in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* VI, p. 435: "he shut up Gog and Magog behind the Iron Gate of Derbend."

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expected that Greek and Latin authors would be thoroughly consistent in distinguishing these far distant gates, or even that they would avoid confusing them; what is more surprising is that not a few moderns have shown a lack of comprehension in interpreting them, and have at times intensified rather than resolved the confusion. Before proceeding to the main purpose of this paper I find it necessary therefore to examine critically the literary and cartographic sources, and thereby, if possible, to clarify the use of terms involved. Accordingly for the sake of clearness the term Caspian Gates when unqualified shall, outside of quotations and explained passages, be understood to designate (1), the pass of Dariel to designate (2), and the pass of Derbend to designate (3).

I. The Caspian Gates

This set of defiles received its name from the fact that it cleaves Mount Caspius, which itself received its name from the Caspii, a tribe living to the east of it, cf. Isidore of Charax, *Mans. Parth.* 7, in Müller's *G.G.M.* I, p. 251: Ῥάγα καὶ Χάραξ, ὧν μεγίστη τῶν κατὰ Μηδίαν ἡ Ῥάγα. εἰς δὲ τὴν Χάρακα πρῶτος βασιλεὺς Φραάτης τοὺς Μάρδους ᾤκισεν. ἔστι δὲ ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος ὃ καλεῖται Κάσπιος, ἀφ' οὗ Κάσπιαι πύλαι. So Pliny, *H.N.* VI, 45: Egressos portis excipit protinus gens Caspia ad litora usque, quae nomen portis et mari dedit. He had previously described the pass and its western approaches, VI, 43: Ecbatana caput Mediae Seleucus rex condidit, a Seleucia magna DCCL p. a portis vero Caspiis XX. reliqua Medorum oppida Phisgauzaga, Apamea Rhagiane cognominata. causa portarum nominis eadem quae supra, interruptis angusto transitu iugis ita ut vix singula meent plaustra, longitudine VIII p. toto opere manu facto. dextra laevaque ambustis similes inpendent scopuli sitiente tractu per XXVIII p. angustias inpedit corrivatus salis e cautibus liquor atque eadem emissus. praeterea serpentium multitudo nisi hieme transitum non sinit. (44) Adiabenis conectuntur Carduchi quondam dicti, nunc Cordueni, praefluente Tigri, his Pratitae παρ' ὀδὸν appellati, qui tenent Caspias portas.

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The Caspian Gates are the gateway to Farther Asia, and indeed Dionysius Periegetes (1034 ff.), actually calls them the Keys of Asia—

ἄχρι πυλάων
Κασπιάδων, αἳ τ' εἰσι . . . . . .
κληῖδες γαίης Ἀσιήτιδος ἦχι κέλευθος
ἐκτέταται' ἐς βορέην τε καὶ ἐς Νότον ἐρχομένοισιν,
ἡ μὲν ἐς Τρκανίους, ἡ δ' οὔρεα Πέρσιδος αἴης.

Alexander's passage of these gates was one of great significance; for through them he pressed his pursuit of Darius (Arrian, *Anab.* III, 19, 2; 20, 2–4). Fitly does Pliny, *H.N.* VI, 45 call them cardinem Alexandri Magni itinerum. Until the time of Nero this was the only set of passes to which the term was applied, and from our earliest records well down into the Middle Ages the classical geographers including Pliny recognized no other application of the term as correct. Pliny's description of them quoted above together with the topographic considerations involved make it all but certain that the Sirdara Pass was the course by which Alexander went, but it is by no means improbable that other passes farther south, as *e.g.* that of Firouz Kouh may be included under the name.[2]

As stated above, these, the Caspian Gates par excellence, are the only Caspian Gates which the historical Alexander passed through or had anything to do with. There is no record or evidence that he fortified even these. To be sure, there is the so-called wall of Gomushtapah, which, like the Caucasian Wall, later to be considered, is sometimes called

[2] The following references may be cited for the description and discussion of the Caspian Gates:

Mützel, edition of Q. Curtius, notes to V, 35 on pp. 488 ff., where extensive quotations are given.

Sainte Croix, *Examen Critique*[2] (1804), pp. 688–690.

Gibbon, chap. xl, v, pp. 114–115.

Spiegel, *Erânische Altertumskunde*, II (1873), pp. 65–66.

Grote, XII, p. 5 and footnote (chap. xliv of part II).

Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander*, p. 214 n. refers to Curzon, *Persia* I, pp. 293 ff., and Th. Zolling, *Alex. des Grossen Feldzug in Central Asien*, pp. 93 ff.

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by the name *Sadd-i-Iskandar, Rampart of Alexander.* Vambery describes this wall and followed its traces at the southeast angle of the Caspian from southwest to northeast for more than forty miles.[3] This wall, however, cannot have been of any importance for keeping back the peoples of southern Russia—Scythians, Alans, Huns, Khazars—from crossing the Caucasus.

The passages in Greek and Latin authors and in cartography in which the term *portae Caspiae*, Κάσπιαι πύλαι, or equivalent expressions refer to the Caspian Gates par excellence are readily distinguished, and are cited as follows:

Hecataeus, *F.H.G.* I, p. 171, quoted by Stephen of Byzantium;
Ctesias, *ap.* Diod. II, 2, substantially if not exactly correct;
Diognetus and Baeton, *ap.* Plin. *H.N.* VI, 61;
Duris, *ap.* Strab. I, p. 60;
Eratosthenes, *ap.* Strab. XV, p. 723 (bis);
Polybius, V, 44, cf. X, 27–28;
Strabo, *passim.* I have counted about fifty instances of its use by Strabo, I, II, and XI, and in all these where the use is his own it applies to the pass of Rhagae. In XI, p. 505 where he quotes Clitarchus he takes the latter to task for locating the Caspian Gates and the Thermodon river close together, thus showing Clitarchus to be as much of a romancer in geography as in history.

Sainte-Croix, *op. cit.* p. 692, seems to think that Eratosthenes *ap.* Strab. XI, p. 522 used the term of the Caucasus.

Isidore of Charax, *Mans. Parth.* 7 and 8 (*G.G.M.* I, p. 251);
Lucan, VIII, 222, 235, 291(?);
Pliny, *H.N.* I, 6, 17; V, 99 (a passage extensively quoted or echoed, *e.g.* Solinus, 38, 13; Mart. Cap. VI, 683; Jordanes, VII, 55); VI, 30, where he protests against the application of the term *Caspiae portae* to the *Caucasiae portae* (pass of Dariel) as he does also in VI, 40; VI, 43

[3] Vambery, *Travels in Central Asia* (New York, 1863–5), pp. 54 ff.; cf. also Julius Bruun in *Ausland*, No. 22 for 1869, both quoted by Yule.

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(a passage quoted by Solinus 47, 1); VI, 45; VI, 61 quoted above; VI, 76; VI, 214; XXXI, 75.

Statius, *Silv.* IV, 4, 64;

Val. Flacc. V, 125;

Ptol. I, 12, 5; VI, 2, 5;

Arrian, *Anab.* III, 19, 2; 20, 2–4; V, 25; VII, 10, 6 (the two latter passages in Alexander's speeches, which I assume in the main to be genuine); *Succ. Alex.* 35 (Didot Arrian, p. 245);

Historia Alex. Magni (Pseudo-Callisthenes), II, 19 (Kroll, p. 89, 18 and 28; Jul. Val. 102, 20; 103, 11; Syr. II, 11); III, 17 (Jul. Val. 126, 19; Syr. III, 7).

Itin. Alex. 30 (68);

Epist. Alex. pp. 193, 19; 220, 2 Kübler, cf. Pfister, p. 37.

Dion. Perieg. 1034–5, 1039, 1064, with which should be compared:

Eustathius, *Comm.* 1034 (ter), 1039, 1059;

Paraphrasis, 1017–38; 1039–52; 1063–69;

Avien. *Orb. Terr.* 1228, 1264;

Priscian, *Perieg.* 950, 963, all these to be found in Müller's *G.G.M.* II, pp. 103 ff.

Solinus, 47, 1; 38, 13, see above under Pliny;

Jordanes, VII, 55, see above under Pliny;

Mart. Cap. VI, 683, see above under Pliny;

Ammianus, XXIII, 6, 13, and 70;

Servius, *ad Aen.* VI, 798;

Chron. Alex. Chron. 127, 297;

Excerpta Graeca barbari, Chron. Min. ed. Frick, I, 261, 7; 271, 17; 273, 15.

Brief Life of Alex. in Budge, *History of Alex. the Great*, p. 160.

On the Ebstorf Map the Caspian Gates are correctly placed, and near them is placed the significant note: Dum hic et alibi (*sc.* porte) Caspie dicuntur, indicet qui possit veritatem.

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II. The Caspian Gates in the Caucasus

The first map to place the Caspian Gates in the Caucasus was that sent to Rome under Nero by the expeditionary force of Corbulo, 57–67 A.D., and this placed them at the Caucasian Gates, the pass of Dariel; cf. Pliny, *H.N.* VI, 40, quoted later on p. 145. The Hereford Map also placed the Caspian Gates at a point corresponding to the pass of Dariel. An examination of other medieval maps, as *e.g.* the map of Hieronymus (Orient) seems to put them southwest of the Armenian Gates with the note "Portas Caspias hic quidam dicunt," thus showing that there was doubt and disagreement as to their location. Heinrich of Mainz locates them near to the position of the pass of Dariel. It is important to note, however, that none of them place the Gates at the pass of Derbend on the shore of the Caspian.

When we come to literary sources we must recognize that often the authors did not give a sufficiently clear description to enable us to decide whether they meant the pass of Dariel or the pass of Derbend, and indeed some authors did not know that the term Caspian Gates was applied to several different passes. We may even question whether some authors, as *e.g.* Orosius and Isidore, had any clear notion as to where the Gates were located. While we have not available the means of making a sure decision, it seems that the first certain instance in which the term *portae Caspiae* was used to denote the pass of Derbend is to be found in Fredegarius (*Chron.* 60), a Frank or Burgundian writing about 660–670, of the bursting of the pass of Derbend by the Khazars in the year 626 under Heraclius, and Theophanes (316, 1 de Boor) writing of the same event uses the term Κάσπιαι πύλαι.[4]

The following is a chart of passages in classical literature in which the terms Κάσπιαι πύλαι, *portae Caspiae, Caspia via, Caspiae claustra,* or *claustra Caspiarum* seem to apply to the

[4] Konrad Miller sensed the truth when in his *Die Ebstorfkarte*, p. 59, he speaks of the pass of Derbend "seit etwa dem 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr. viel genannt als *Kaspische Pforten.*"

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passes in the Caucasus. If the form used is other than a declensional form of Κάσπιαι πύλαι or *portae Caspiae*, the variation is noted. Where the form seems to refer to the pass of Dariel, this is indicated by II; where it seems to refer to the pass of Derbend, this is indicated by III.

Claudian, *Carm. Min.* 5, 28	II or III	per Caspia claustra
Chron. Alex. chron. III, 195	II	Albani for Alani
III, 223	II	" " "
Chron. min. I, 34, 3	II	
Fredegarius, *Chron.* 60	III	
Hegesippus, III, 5, 30	II	singular
V, 30	II	claustro portae ferreae
Suetonius, *Nero*, 19	II	
Tacitus, *Ann.* VI, 33	II	Caspia via
Hist. I, 6	II	ad claustra Caspiarum
Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* VII, 7, 4	II	referred to but not named
Ant. XVIII, 4, 4	II (or III)	
Lucian, *Prom.* 4	II (or III)	
Jerome, *Epist.* 77, 8	II	ubi Caucasi rupibus feras gentes Alexandri claustra cohibent
Isidore, *Etym.* XIV, 8, 6	II	confused
Orosius, I, 2, 40	II	confused
Martianus Capella, VI, 691	II	an echo of Pliny, *H.N.* VI, 30
Priscus, *Corp. Scr. Hist. Byz.*, I, 159, 8	II (or III)	
I, 161, 14	II (or III)	
Historia Alexandri, III, 26C	II	
III, 29B	II	
Byz. Vers. 5739 Wagner	II	described without name

In the *Recensio Vetusta* of the Alexander Romance the term refers to the pass of Rhagae, in the later additions it refers to the pass of Dariel.

Lydus, *de Magg.* III, 51	II (or III)	
III, 53	II (or III)	
Menander Prot., *Corp. Scr. Hist. Byz.* I, 359, 22	II (or III)	
Procopius, I, 10, 4	II	singular
9	II	described without name

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	10	II	
	12	II	described without name
I,	16, 4	II	
	7	II	
I,	22, 5	II	
II,	10, 21	II	
VIII,	3	II	singular
	"	II	
Aethicus Ister, chap. 32, p. 19			
ed. Wuttke		II	
chap. 36, p. 23		II	
chap. 59, p. 40			These two passages seem
chap. 60, p. 40			to refer to the far north.
chap. 65, p. 44		II	Caspias obturationes
chap. 69, p. 53		II	
Theophanes, p. 316, 1 de Boor		III	
Nicephorus Greg. in *Corp. Scr. Hist. Byz.* Pars XIX, vol. I, 37, 13 ff.			doubtful
Godfrey of Viterbo, *Pantheon*, XXI–XXII, 28		III	
Hereford Map		II	

Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia, 48, 15; 417, 2; 30, 10 ff. These passages are not absolutely sure.

Pliny, *H.N.* VI, 40 (p. 145) dissented from the use of the term Caspian Gates as applied to the Caucasian (Iberian) Gates. He could not see that his dissent would be altogether unavailing, and that five centuries later Procopius, I, 10 (p. 151); VIII, 3 would describe in detail the pass of Dariel and inform us that this pass had been called the Caspian Gate from of old. As in the case of the pass of Rhagae the term Caspian Gates was applied absolutely without reference to any proximity or approach to the Caspian Sea, but rather because of the proximity of Caspiae represented on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* as 140 m.p. from Sebastopolis on the road leading toward Artaxata, and also perhaps because the Caucasus may of old have been called τὸ Κάσπιον ὄρος, cf. Eratosthenes, *ap.* Strab. XI, 497. Those who deny that the term *portae Caspiae* was applied to the pass of Dariel, and who say that it was the

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current designation for the pass of Derbend should take cognizance of this fact, and recognize further that nowhere in classical literature is it stated that the term was applied to the pass of Derbend. We may even go a step farther. Procopius, writing at the middle of the sixth century, describes the pass of Dariel so clearly and confirms its designation by the term πυλίδα . . . ἡ Κασπία ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐκλήθη, so that we should probably be open minded enough to prepare ourselves for concluding that even in the instances cited from Lydus and Priscus the term may have reference to the pass of Dariel. It is well nigh inconceivable either that Procopius could have been in error on this point, or that the three authors so nearly contemporary—Procopius, Lydus, and Priscus—would have used the term to designate different passes.

The Caucasus and Its Passes

From time immemorial the Caucasus—that mighty bulwark thrown across the isthmus between the Black and the Caspian Seas—has lain in the pathway of northern nomads descending into the fair lands of Hither Asia. What devastating waves of migration have burst against its barriers, some of them to clear its passes and to deal destruction to the civilizations of the south! Such may have been the course of the Kassites when about 1900 B.C. they came bringing with them the horse, but wrecking the empire founded by Hammurabi. Such too may have been the course of the Mitanni, when they about 1400 B.C. made themselves felt as far as Palestine.[5] It was probably through the pass of Dariel that the Cimmerians, *Gimirrae*, who are to be identified with the biblical Gomer, invaded Assyria under Sargon (722–705 B.C.) and then later passed on to overrun Asia Minor, devastating it as far as the Aegean, and overthrowing the power of Phrygia founded by Midas.[6] A generation later under Esar-Haddon (681–668 B.C.) the Scythians followed by way of the pass of Derbend, destined before the century was past to join the Medes and

[5] E. H. Minns, in *Cambridge Anc. Hist.* III, pp. 187 f., cf. I, pp. 311 ff., 552.
[6] *Ibid.* III, 188 f.; Hdt. I, 104; IV, 12.

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Chaldaeans in overthrowing Assyria (612 B.C.). East of the Caspian the Massagetae constituted a problem even to Cyrus the Great.[7] Darius, recognizing the Scythian peril, sought to strike them by way of the Balkan peninsula, crossing the Danube in an expedition in which he narrowly escaped utter ruin.[8] Then for several centuries there is a lull in the invasions from the north. On his way to the far east Alexander after passing the Caspian Gates went through Hyrcania with too great speed to give any attention to Iberia and Albania.[9] Neither Lucullus nor Pompey went through any of the passes in the Caucasus, though the latter probably controlled the pass of Dariel. When Mithradates quite unexpectedly made his escape over the Caucasus by the κλεῖθρα Σκυθῶν Pompey showed good judgment in not following him.[10]

The legendary Alexander, however, soon appeared in the Caucasus—a region that the historical Alexander never saw—with the result that the term Caspian Gates was in due course applied successively to the pass of Dariel and, considerably later, to the pass of Derbend. We are no longer in possession of complete information as to the steps by which he was brought there, but the following facts are worthy of consideration as bearing upon the change:

(1) Romantic historians of Alexander, such as Clitarchus[11] and Onesicritus,[12] early brought Alexander into association with the Amazons, who are usually placed on the Thermodon, and this in the passage cited is implied by Clitarchus as not

[7] Hdt. IV, 15.

[8] Hdt. IV, 1–140.

[9] Plut. *Pomp.* 34, 3. Very important is the passage in Arr. *Anab.* IV, 15 which shows that Alexander while in central Asia received an embassy from Pharasmanes king of the Chorasmians offering his assistance for the conquest of the lands south of the Caucasus, a project which Alexander postponed until after he should have conquered India. The article of Klaproth, *Nouv. Journ. As.* XII, 544 ff. in which he considers the possibility that either Alexander or one of his generals made an expedition into Georgia, is not accessible to me. Cf. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie* (St. Petersburg, 1849–1858), I, pp. 32–36.

[10] App. *Mithr.* 102.

[11] Strabo, XI, p. 505.

[12] Plut. *Alex.* 46.

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being far from the Caspian Gates. It is also not without significance that in the manuscripts B and C of the Greek Alexander Romance [13] the episode of the building of the Gate follows immediately upon his meeting with the Amazons.

(2) After having passed the Caspian Gates and the *Indian* Caucasus (Parapamisus, Hindu-Kush), Alexander in the course of time proceeded as far as the Tanais-Jaxartes (Silis, Sir-Daria) upon the banks of which he founded Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἐσχάτη,[14] which was regarded as the most northerly point reached by him. The notion that the Jaxartes was really the upper course of the Tanais (Don) was stubborn in yielding. The error is recognized by Pliny, *H.N.* VI, 49: Ultra Sogdiani, oppidum Panda et in ultimis eorum finibus Alexandria ab Alexandro Magno conditum. Arae ibi sunt ab Hercule et Libero Patre constitutae, item Cyro et Samiramide atque Alexandro, finis omnium eorum ductus ab illa parte terrarum, includente flumine Iaxarte, quod Scythae Silim vocant. Alexander militesque eius Tanain putavere esse.[15] On Agrippa's

[13] III, 26 C; III, 29 B; Mueller, pp. 138, 143.

[14] Arr. *Anab.* IV, 1, 3; 4, 1; Curt. VII, 28; App. *Syr.* 57.

[15] The location of Alexander's altars and also of his columns was conditioned by this error. The Hereford Map placed the *Aree Alexandri* in India on the Hypanis. (This map also places them in Europe west of the *Fluvius Ylis qui et Jaxates*, which is made to flow into the Black Sea east of the Maeotis, see K. Miller, *Die Herefordkarte*, p. 47.) Pliny placed them on the true Jaxartes-Silis, see above. The Peutinger Map placed them on the Oxus; Agrippa probably placed them west of the European Tanais. Marinus followed Agrippa or a source common with Agrippa, Ptol. III, 3, 12. Orosius I, 2, 4 (aras ac terminos Alexandri Magni) and VII, 2, 5 and the Ebstorf Map follow this tradition. Ammianus XXII, 8, 40 who couples the name of Augustus with that of Alexander (cf. Ptol. III, 3, 12) places them east of the Borysthenes, whereas Hieronymus places them east of the Tanais (Don). Cf. Kiessling in *P.-W.*, II[1e] Reihe, I, 7, 3 ff.:

Nach der handschriftlichen Überlieferung von (Ptol.) III, 5, 10 stossen von Westen an die Ripaien die Boruskoi; an den Grenzen ihres Gebietes liegt die Tanaisquelle, stehen die 'Altäre Alexanders d. Gr.,' von dem Gebirge unmittelbar überragt und *ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπισροφὴν* des Don. Diese merkwürdigen Alexanderaltäre am europäischen Tanais sind gestehen geblieben, auch nachdem längst niemand mehr an die einst traditionelle Verbindung zwischen diesem Flusse und dem innerasiatischen Iaxartes glaubte; nun gaben sie der Legende Fleisch und Blut, dass Alexander auch an den Don gezogen sei. Marinos entnahm die

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map for which much of the material had been gathered by Julius Caesar, the *arae Alexandri* were probably placed near the source of the European Tanais at its bend west of the river and within the shadow of the Rhipaean mountains. These *arae*, *βωμοί*, were allowed to stand on the map even after it had become established that the Asiatic Jaxartes and the European Tanais were independent streams. The plausible route for Alexander to follow in order to reach them was by crossing the Caucasus, and after the legend of his presence in the Caucasus had become established it was obvious to conceive of him as having built the Gate en route.[16]

(3) The identification of Alexander with Heracles and with his Babylonian prototype Gilgamesh made him the natural protector of *ἡ οἰκουμένη* against the barbarian dwelling outside. Accordingly when the peoples of the true Tanais burst the barriers of the true Caucasus, it was natural to represent Alexander as the builder of the Gate and the protecting genius of the Caucasus. The northern journey of Alexander in his romance was in large measure due to the influence of his identification with Gilgamesh, even though Gilgamesh was not credited with having built a gate.[17]

Altäre kritiklos genug, entweder direkt aus der Weltkarte, die später Orosius zur Grundlage seiner Geographie der Oikumene machte, oder aus der Quelle, die jener Karte zu Grunde liegt.

[16] Alexander's presence in the Caucasus is implied by Ptolemy v, 8, 9 who places his *στῆλαι*, *columnae*, 4° 30′ north of the Albanian Gates. Hieronymus placed his *Columnae* in the far east. We may wonder whether Caesar's plans as related by Plut. *Caes.* 58 and his proposed line of march to cross the Caucasus to the north after conquering the Parthians were not after all conceived by Caesar as following in the steps of Alexander according to a legend existing in his time. Alexander's ideas with reference to safeguarding the frontier against the Scythians beyond the Tanais (Jaxartes) show deep insight, and are recorded by Arr. *Anab.* iv, 1, 3 ff.

[17] That Alexander proceeded at least as far north as the Rhipaean mountains is implied by the words of his contemporary Aeschines iii, 165: *ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἔξω τῆς ἄρκτου καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὀλίγου δεῖν πάσης μεθειστήκει.* The Rhipaean mountains were regarded as lying under the Bear, cf. Kiessling in *P.-W.* II[1e] Reihe, i, 850. It is to be noted also that Ptolemy v, 8, 9 placed the altars of Caesar not far from those of Alexander. Ammianus xxii, 8, 40 joins the name Augustus to that of Alexander in speaking of the altars. The legend of Augustus's far ranging travels was well established even in his own time, cf. Verg. *Aen.* vi, 801 ff.

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(4) The Romans regarded themselves as the geographic as well as the political successors of Alexander; and as the territory around and east of the Caspian Gates was lost to western nations, these lost somewhat their interest in them; in view of the developments just set forth, the Romans in their pride applied the term to the passes in the Caucasus, more particularly, as will be shown below, to that of Dariel.

The Pass of Dariel, Caspian Gates II

The Pass of Dariel between Tiflis and Vladikaukas cleaves the Caucasus proper a little west of the center by way of the river Aragwi (Ἀραγός) from the south, and by way of the river Terek (Terki) to the north. The latter stream after emerging from the north slope turns eastward and empties into the Caspian, thus facilitating the approach to it. This pass has been variously called *Iberiae portae*[18] as leading northward from Iberia (Georgia), and *Caucasiae portae*,[19] as being the principal passage through the Caucasus. Other names, *e.g. Sarmatic Gates*,[20] Σαρματικαὶ πύλαι, *Gate of the Alans* (Persian Dar-i-Allan, hence its name Darial, Dariel; Arabic Bab-Allan),[21] *Tatar Gate* (Turkish Tatar Toup[22] or Tatar Topa) call attention to the various peoples living to the north, who would be likely to use it for their incursions into Hither Asia, especially Armenia and Media. The Armenians called

[18] Pliny, *H.N.* VI, 40.

[19] *Ibid.* I, 6, 12; VI, 30; VI, 31; VI, 40; cf. Orosius I, 2, 39 and 49.

[20] Ptol. V, 8, 5, where he gives the location as 77°–47°. In V, 8, 9 he gives the location as 81°–48° 30′, which is probably an error, but see note 39, p. 153. The κλεῖθρα Σκυθῶν, App. *Mithr.* 102, by which Mithradates escaped across the Caucasus, was probably the pass of Dariel, though possibly a higher pass situated farther west.

[21] Brosset, *Hist. de la Géorgie*, I, p. 155, n. Sans l' orthographie Darghalan, douteuse, il est vrai, les plus fortes probabilités me paraissent être en faveur de l' étymologie persane-géorgienne Daroubalan, mais surtout de celle, également persane, Dar-I-Allan, d'autant plus que cette dernière a pour elle l'equivalent donné par Abou-l-Feda, Bab-al-Alan, et par Masoudi, Bab-Allan.

He cites also Δαρεινὴ ἀτραπός of Menander Protector, *F.H.G.* IV, p. 230, frag. 22 (*Corp. Scr. Hist. Byz.* I, 301). Procopius I, 10, 3–4 characterizes the pass as an ἀτραπός. Brosset cites a number of other spellings for the place.

[22] D'Anville, *Geogr. Ancienne*, pp. 119–120 quoted by Gibbon.

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this gate Dchasanin Cap, the pass of Dchasan, while the Iberians (Georgians) called it Khéwis-Cari, gate of Khéwi.[23] Pliny speaks of the pass as being defended by a fortress called Cumania,[24] and it was probably in this pass that there was in later antiquity a fortress called 'Ιουροειπαάχ, βιραπαράχ, 'the bulwark of Iberia.'[25]

Our earliest reference to the pass of Dariel is in the Georgian Annals, French translation by Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, pp. 46 and 70 summarized (p. 154 f., n. 2) as follows: Les annales géorgiennes racontent que Mirwan le 3e roi, après avoir puni ses voisins les Caucasiens de leurs attaques, construisit dans le Caucase une porte en pierres cimentées, qu' il nomma *Daroubal*, désignation si analogue à celle de Derbend, en géorgien Darouband, qu' il est difficile de lui supposer une autre origine: Mirwan regnait 162–112 av. J.C. (p. 46). Peutêtre après cela éleva-t-on un fort au voisinage de ladite porte; l'histoire le laisse supposer, puisque sous le 13e regne, 87–103 ap. J. C., on trouve le nom de la citadelle de Darghalan

[23] Brosset, *op. cit.* I, p. 155, n.: dans les auteurs de l' antiquité classique, le passage de Dariel est nommé Pylae Caucasicae, Porta Alanorum, et d'après l'auteur armenien Stephannos Orbelian, Dchasanin-Cap ou Defilé de Dchasan. . . . Les Géorgiens le designent encore par le nom de Khéwis-Cari, porte du Khéwi ou de la vallée du Terek.

In this note Brosset is not infallible in his use of classical geographic terms.

[24] Pliny, *H.N.* VI, 30.

[25] Cf. Tomaschek in *P.-W.* IV, 2183 ff. *s.v.* Δαρεινὴ ἀτραπός, and also III 488 *s.v.* βιραπαράχ. Those who, like Tomaschek, place the fortress of Biraparach in the pass of Dariel can hardly be wrong, and its etymology is as good as conclusive for this view and against the view that identifies it with the fortress Čor situated in the pass of Derbend. By a curious interchange the Syrian. version of the Alexander Romance, ed. Budge, p. 79 (Syrian text 140, 12) has "The Caspian Gates, which are called *Vtrôphhâgâr*." It has not been noticed that in the latter passage the Caspian Gates are the original Caspian Gates, By a reverse process the Hereford map placed the Caspian Gates at the pass of Dariel and attached to them the description which Pliny, *H.N.* VI, 43 (and after him Solinus, 47, 1) had used of the original Caspian Gates. Curiously enough in the *Proza-Bewerkingen* ed. Hoogstra (1898), Tekst II, chap. XXXV and also the *Spieg. Histor.* I[4], XXXIIIb the same error occurs.

Albrecht Wirth, *Quaestiones Severianae* (Leipsic, 1888), p. 36 N** seems to identify 'Ιουροειπαάχ with Čor, and actually to make Čor identical with the first element in 'Ιουροειπαάχ.

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ou Darialan, sans qu'il soit dit par qui elle avait été construite, et que sous les rois postérieurs la même place fut le théâtre de divers événements historiquement connus (p. 70).

The Pass of Dariel was not called by the term *Caspiae Portae* by the Romans until the time of Nero,[26] more specifically until the time of the campaigns of Corbulo (57–67 A.D.), and in Greek literature we do not meet with the term Κάσπιαι πύλαι or the equivalent applied to any of the passes in the Caucasus until somewhat later.[27]

Strabo describes briefly the approach to the Pass of Dariel[28] from the south: ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρὸς ἄρκτον νομάδων ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀνάβασις χαλεπή, καὶ μετὰ ταύτην ποταμία στενὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀραγοῦ ποταμοῦ τεττάρων ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἔχουσα ἐφ' ἕνα, φρουρεῖ δὲ τὸ πέρας τῆς ὁδοῦ τεῖχος δύσμαχον.

The fact that he does not designate it by name seems to show that there was no name generally current for the pass among the Greeks and Romans of his time, the reign of Augustus. He remarks that the Iberians were wont to invite the peoples dwelling north of the Caucasus to come down and help them in times of danger. This is borne out by the events of the year 35 A.D. described by Tacitus, *Ann.* VI, 33: Sed Hiberi locorum potentes *Caspia via* Sarmatam in Armeniam raptim effundunt . . . cum alios incessus hostis clausisset, unum reliquum mare inter et extremos Albanorum montes aestas impediret, quia flatibus etesiarum implentur vada; hibernus auster revolvit fluctus pulsoque introrsus freto brevia litorum nudantur. Tacitus wrote this early in the second century. In applying the term *Caspia via* to the Pass of Dariel as for the year 35 A.D. he seems to be using it retroactively with a sense that came into vogue a generation after the events he

[26] Pliny, *H.N.* VI, 30 and VI, 40 quoted on page 145.

[27] Josephus, *Ant.* XVIII, 4, 4 uses the term Κάσπιαι θύραι. This passage is quoted and discussed on p. 148, Luc. *Prom.* 4 ἀνεσταυρῶσθαι με πλησίον τῶν Κασπίων τούτων πυλῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Καυκάσου οἴκτιστον θέαμα τοῖς Σκύθαις. Lucian is here non-committal as between the Pass of Dariel and the Pass of Derbend, but general usage would favor its reference to the former.

[28] Strabo, XI, 500 end. The writer in *Encyc. Brit.*[11] is in error when he says Strabo called it *porta Caucasica* and *porta Cumana*.

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was here recounting. This is made perfectly clear by the two following passages from Pliny: *H.N.* VI, 30: Ab iis (*sc.* Sodiis) sunt *Portae Caucasiae magno errore multis Caspiae dictae,* ingens naturae opus montibus interruptis repente, ubi fores obditae *ferratis trabibus,* subter medias amne diri odoris fluente citraque in rupe castello quod Cumania communito ad arcendas transitu gentes innumeras, ibi loci terrarum orbe discluso, ex adverso maxime Hermasti oppidi Hiberum; and VI, 40: Corrigendus est in hoc loco error multorum etiam qui in Armenia res proxime cum Corbulone gessere, *namque hi Caspias appellavere portas Iberias quas Caucasias diximus vocari,*[29] situsque depicti et inde missi hoc nomen inscriptum habent. et Neronis principis comminatio ad Caspias portas tendere dicebatur, cum peteret illas quas per Hiberiam in Sarmatas tendunt, vix ullo propter oppositos montes aditu ad Caspium mare. *sunt autem aliae Caspiis gentibus iunctae, quod dignosci non potest nisi comitatu rerum Alexandri Magni.* Note that in the prior passage the gates are described as barred with ironbound beams, *fores obditae ferratis trabibus,* and also that in the latter passage *sunt autem . . . Alexandri Magni* shows that Pliny does not associate the pass of Dariel with the deeds of Alexander the Great. There is a temptation, it is true, to refer the phrase *sunt autem aliae Caspiis gentibus iunctae, etc.,* to the pass of Derbend. Such, however, cannot be the application of the sentence; for if it were,

[29] Modern scholars have frequently failed to recognize this fact. For example, K. Kretschmer in *P.-W.* II[1c] Reihe, II, 13, 58–14, 14 *s.v. Sarmaticae portae* takes Tacitus to task for using the term *Caspia via, Ann.* VI, 33, of the pass of Dariel. So determined is he that the term shall apply only to the pass of Derbend on the shore of the Caspian, that when he interprets Tac. *Hist.* I, 6, he refers the term *claustra Caspiarum* to the pass of Derbend because of the mention of the Albanians in the context. He has failed to see that Pliny, *H.N.* VI, 30 and 40 and Suet. *Nero,* 19—passages which I shall discuss later—prove that the term *claustra Caspiarum* can refer only to the pass of Dariel. Mittelhaus in *P.-W.* XI, 58, 62–64 *s.v.* Kaukasiai Pylai says: auch die *comminatio* des Nero habe nicht, wie man sagte, den Portae Caspiae gegolten, sondern der von Iberien nach Sarmatien führenden Heerstrasse, den Portae Caucasiae. He cannot bear to have *portae Caspiae* refer to the pass of Dariel! Cf. Tomaschek in *P.-W.* III, 489, 51: "*Caucasicae portae* Plin. VI 40, wofür missbräuchlich auch Caspiae portae gesagt wurde."

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Pliny would naturally have proceeded to the description of the pass of Derbend as associated with the deeds of Alexander the Great. Instead he proceeds directly to the description of the Caspian Gates that are *Caspiis gentibus iunctae*, and which *are* associated *comitatu rerum Alexandri Magni*, which he does in sections 41–43: Namque Persarum regna, etc.

Though Pliny did not know or tell of the association of Alexander's name with the pass of Dariel, we do find this connection presupposed by other authors, and accordingly I next quote Suetonius, *Nero*, 19: (Nero) parabat et ad Portas Caspias expeditionem conscripta ex Italicis senum pedum tironibus nova legione, *quam Magni Alexandri phalanga appellabat*. Nero may have visualized himself as a second Alexander, but that is not all that is involved here; it is as though Nero announces a slogan "Alexander's phalanx to guard Alexander's gate." Evidently Nero knew of the legend associating Alexander's name with the fortification of the pass of Dariel, and accordingly enrolled a new legion, I Italica, which he informally called *Magni Alexandri phalanga*, and dispatched to its destination to prevent the Scythians, in this case the Alani, from passing the Caucasus. It is a great pity that the rebellion of Vindex in 68 A.D. necessitated the recall of this legion to bolster up the tottering fortunes of Nero. Of this Tacitus has told us in *Hist.* I, 6: Multi ad hoc numeri e Germania ac Britannia et *Illyrico*, quos idem Nero *electos praemissosque ad claustra Caspiarum* et bellum quod in Albanos[30] parabat, opprimendis Vindicis coeptis revocaverat. For not long afterward—in the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian, 72 A.D.—the Alani came through as told by Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* VII, 244 ff. (VII, 7, 4):

τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἀλανῶν ἔθνος ὅτι μέν εἰσι Σκύθαι περὶ τὸν Τάναϊν καὶ τὴν Μαιῶτιν λίμνην κατοικοῦντες, πρότερόν που δεδηλώκαμεν, κατὰ τούτους

[30] Kiessling in *P.-W.* II[te] Reihe, I, 944, 38 ff. holds that Tacitus here used *Albanos* for *Alanos*. This view, though shared by Mommsen and probably correct, is not necessary to my interpretation. "Seit ihrem ersten Auftreten in der nordkaukasischen Steppenregion, während der Regierung Neros, werden die Alanen sofort mit den Albani des kaukasischen Isthmus verwechselt, so gleich von Tacitus (hist. I, 6), dann von Cass. Dio, LXIX, 15, 1 und anderen."

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δὲ τοὺς χρόνους διανοηθέντες εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν καὶ προσωτέρω ταύτης ἔτι καθ' ἁρπαγὴν ἐμβαλεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Τρκανῶν διαλέγονται. τῆς παρόδου γὰρ οὗτος δεσπότης ἐστίν, ἣν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος πύλαις σιδηραῖς κλειστὴν ἐποίησε.

In the interpretation of this passage scholars have frequently gone astray. Inasmuch as Alexander fortified the passage πύλαις σιδηραῖς, and inasmuch as the Turks in later times applied the name *demir-kapi, iron gate,* to the pass of Derbend, Wirth [31] concluded that it was to the pass of Derbend to which Josephus referred in his passage. Thackeray [32] has the following note:

'The "Caspian Gates" was the name given to a mountain pass or series of difficult passes in the Taurus range S. of the Caspian Sea (Grote, *Hist. of Greece,* ed. 4, x, 127 ff.). Arrian (III, 20) describes how Alexander the Great, in pursuit of Darius, failed to overtake him before he reached this point, but says nothing of the "iron gates" mentioned by Josephus.'

Neither does Josephus say anything in this passage of the "Caspian Gates." Of what importance, we may ask, could the Caspian Gates near Rhagae be to a Scythian tribe living north of the Caucasus and on the lower Tanais (Don) and the Maeotis? Mommsen [33] therefore saw that it was the pass of Dariel (Caucasian Gates) that was meant, and explained the mention of the βασιλεῖ τῶν Τρκανῶν as a mistake of Josephus; for it must be recognized that it was normally the king of the Iberians (Georgians) who was master of the pass. What is probably the true explanation of the mention of the king of the Hyrcanians in the passage has been given by Marquart,[34] who says: "Die Nennung des Königs der Hyrkaner bei Josephus erklärt Mommsen daraus, dass 'der Schreiber an das andere kaspische Thor östlich von Rhagae' dachte. Die Sache liegt aber noch einfacher: Τρκανοί ist hier Wiedergabe

[31] Albrecht Wirth, *Quaestiones Severianae* (Lips. 1888), p. 38, n.

[32] Loeb translation Josephus, *Jewish War,* III (1928), 574 f., n.

[33] Mommsen, *Provinces of the Rom. Emp.* II, p. 65, n. 3.

[34] J. Marquart, *Beiträge zur Gesch. und Sage von Erân,* in *Z.D.M.G.* XLIX (1895), 628 ff. esp. 632 f.

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des armenischen Namens der Iberer, pl. Wirk', Pers. *Warč, Gurğ, pl. Warğān, Gurgān, . . . wogegen die durch die Feldzüge gegen Mithradates d. Gr. bekannt gewordene Form Ἴβηρες = Imēr-ēthi von einem älteren armenischen Singular (I)wer mit erhaltenem anlautenden *i*, wenn nicht direct von Imer-ethi aus gebildet ist. Dies wird bestätigt durch Mela 3, 41: Cyrus et Cambyses ex radicibus Coraxici montis vicinis fontibus editi in diversa abeunt, perque *Hiberas* et *Hyrcanos* diu et multum distantibus alveis defluunt. Hyrcani kann hier ursprünglich nur ein anderer Name für Iberes sein. Dasselbe gilt für 3, 41:

ad Hyrcanium (sinum) Albani et Mochi et Hyrcani.[35]

Next we may take up the pertinent passages from the Latin adaptation of Josephus passing under the name Hegesippus and composed about 390 A.D. (v, 50):

Per idem tempus Alani gens fera et diu ignota nostris, quod interiorum locorum difficultate et claustro portae ferreae quam Magnus Alexander praerupti montis imposuit iugis, cum ceteris feris et indomitis introrsum gentibus cohibebantur. incolebant Scythicum Tanain finitimaque eius et Maeotidas paludes velut quodam clausi carcere memorati ingenio regis, ut suas terras exercerent, alienas non incursarent. sed sive ob sterilitatem quod avari votis agricolae sperata culturae non responderet fecunditas, sive praedandi cupidine regem Hyrcanorum qui locis praeerat sollicitarunt, pretione an dissensione inter se gentium incertum, ut reserata porta eruptionis sibi copiam daret, etc.—clearly an adaptation of Josephus, VII, 244 (VII, 7, 4). In another passage when speaking of Antioch on the Orontes he mentions Alexander's gate (the point of view is

[35] It is to be noted however that Josephus in his *Ant.* XVIII, 4, 4 (in which he treats the same subject that was treated by Tacitus, *Ann.* VI, 33) uses the terms Iberians and Albanians as well as the Caspian Gates (*sic*):

ταῦτα δὲ γράφων Τιβέριος πρὸς τὸν Οὐετέλλιον μεγάλων δόσεσι χρημάτων πείθει καὶ τὸν Ἰβήρων καὶ τὸν Ἀλβανῶν βασιλέα πολεμεῖν Ἀρταβάνῳ μηδὲν ἐνδοιάσαι. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀντεῖχον, Σκύθας δὲ, δίοδον αὐτοῖς διδόντες διὰ τῆς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς θύρας τὰς Κασπίας ἀνοίξαντες ἐπάγουσι τῷ Ἀρταβάνῳ.

Similarly Pharasmenes II in 135 A.D. opened the pass of Dariel to the Alani, Dio. Cass. LXIX, 15; Moses Chorene, II, 50.

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facing westward from Antioch) III, 5: cuius a tergo cum orientem dixerim, satis liquet a laeva meridiem iacere, a fronte Europam occurrere, in dextra septentrionales gentes degere Caspiaque regna haberi, quae ante promtissima ad incursandam Syriam erant. Sed postquam Alexander magnus Caspiam portam Tauri montis praerupto imposuit atque omne interioribus gentibus interclusit iter, memoratam urbem quietam reddidit, nisi forte motus Persicos suspectantem.

The latter passage mentions the *Caspiam portam* which Alexander placed *Tauri montis praerupto*. The term Taurus is here used in its larger sense to include the Caucasus, cf. Pliny, *H.N.* v, 98–99. In the previous passage the name of the gate is not given, neither is that of the mountain, but the valuable element of the tribe, the Alani, and their habitat is given to guide us. Fuller details are given by Josippon (Josephus Ben-Gorion), ed. Gagnier (Oxford, 1706), chap. XCVI. The activity of the Roman troops in 75 A.D. in building walls for Mithradates, king of Iberia, who is described as φιλοκαίσαρι καὶ φιλορωμαίῳ, confirms the view that it was via the pass of Dariel that the Alans came. For it was at Mtzchetha (Harmozica near Tiflis) that these defense constructions centered, and it is precisely here that the Alans would have made their descent and approach in coming through the pass of Dariel. Cf. H. C. Newton, "The Epigraphical Evidence for the Reigns of Vespasian and Titus," *Cornell Stud. in Class. Phil.* XVI (1901), 29.

Shortly after the adaptation of Josephus was made in Latin, Jerome about 395–396 A.D. beheld the ravages of the Huns in Palestine; they had burst the barriers of the Caucasus, and were devastating the whole of western Asia. In his *Epist.* 77, 8 written about 399 he records his experiences: Ecce subito discurrentibus nuntiis oriens totus intremit, ab ultima Maeotide inter glacialem Tanaim et Massagetarum immanes populos, ubi Caucasi rupibus feras gentes Alexandri claustra cohibent, erupisse Hunnorum examina.[36]

[36] Ste.-Croix, *Examen Crit.* p. 861, after quoting this passage from Jerome remarks: "Ce savant Père paroit, dans ce passage, ne pas distinguer les Pyles

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To the latter half of the fourth century belongs a passage occurring in the *Sermo de Fine Extremo* 5, ascribed to Ephraim Syrus, where, however, the gate is not named: Tunc divina iustitia advocat reges exercitusque fortissimos qui sunt ultra portas quas fecit Alexander. See Th. J. Lamy, *Sancti Ephraem Syri Hymni et Sermones*, III (Mechliniae, 1889), p. 196.

The following century, the fifth, was the century of Attila and his Huns, and from now on the pressure on the Caucasus from the north became ever more and more intense. After the defeat and disgraceful peace made by the Romans under Jovian (363 A.D.) with the loss of Armenia the danger became more immediate to the Sassanian kings of Persia, but it affected also the Eastern Roman Empire. A brief and somewhat unsatisfactory sketch of the history of the relations of Rome and Persia from Jovian down to his own time is given by Lydus, *de Magg.* III, 52–53. The Romans had agreed to pay Persia a portion (probably one-half) of the cost of maintaining the defenses of the Caucasus—an obligation which the eastern emperors sought with great regularity to evade, inasmuch as the danger to them was far less immediate after Armenia had been lost. The seriousness of the situation became clear, when in 465 in the reign of the Sassanian Isdegerd I the Persians proved unable single handed to hold the entire line against the Saraguri, Acatiri, and their confederates, whereat the Persians sent an embassy to Constantinople asking that the Romans give them either money or men for the fortress of Βιραπαράχ, Ἰουροειπαάχ, which was situated in the Caspian Gates—which can hardly be anything else than the pass of Dariel—and which was perhaps the φυλακτήριον mentioned by Procopius.[37]

Albaniennes d'avec les Pyles Sarmatiques." This is not fair. Jerome was following tradition, and this tradition placed Alexander's gate, or *claustra*, barrier, at the pass of Dariel, and there it was fated to remain for centuries yet to come. As will be shown later, it was only after the time of Heraclius that the pass of Derbend began to assert its claim to be the place where Alexander built his gate.

[37] Procopius I, 10. Cf. Excerpta e Prisci Historia in *Corp. Scr. Hist. Byz.*, Pars I (Bonn, 1829), 161, 14 ff., and especially 159, 8 ff.: καὶ ὡς χρὴ τοῦ

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And now we pass to Procopius, *Bell.* I, 10, a passage written in the middle of the sixth century. His description of the topographic detail of the pass of Dariel here given is that of an eye witness; its recent history is that of a contemporary. In other matters he follows a tradition at least five centuries old. The following features should be noted:

1. That the gateway has been called the Caspian Gate from of old: *δίοδος γὰρ οὐδεμία τὸ λοιπὸν φαίνεται, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι ὥσπερ τινὰ χειροποίητον πυλίδα ἐνταῦθα ἡ φύσις ἐξεῦρεν, ἣ Κασπία ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐκλήθη.* No significance is to be attributed to the fact that here and in *Bell.* VIII, 3 he uses the singular, elsewhere the plural.
2. That Alexander the son of Philip caused gates to be constructed in the pass and a fortress to be established therein: *ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Φιλίππου Ἀλέξανδρος κατενόησε, πύλας τε ἐν τῷ χώρῳ ἐτεκτήνατο τῷ εἰρημένῳ καὶ φυλακτήριον κατεστήσατο.* He does not specify the material of which the gates are built, and he does not give the name of the fortress, probably Βιραπαράχ.
3. That when he speaks of detours, *περίοδοι*, he seems to mean *nearby* detours in which the grades were too steep for the horses to stand, and does not have reference to such long distance detours as the pass of Derbend. (When he refers to the pass of Derbend, he uses the Armenian name of the fortress there, *Čor*, which he transliterates Τζούρ, cf. *Bell.* VIII, 3.)

Jordanes, a contemporary of Procopius who wrote farther

Ἰουροειπαάχ φρουρίου ἐπὶ τῶν Κασπίων κειμένου πυλῶν χρήματα χορηγοῦντας Ῥωμαίους ποιεῖσθαι ἐπιμέλειαν, ἢ γοῦν τοὺς φρουρήσαντας (φρουρήσοντας) αὐτὸ στρατιώτας στέλλειν, καὶ μὴ μόνους δαπάνῃ καὶ φυλακῇ τοῦ χωρίου βαρύνεσθαι. Cf. also Menander Protector, *ibid.* 359, 22 ff. for A.D. 562, and Lydus, *de Magg.* III, 51–53. Brosset, *op. cit.* I, 155 N., who holds that the term Caspian Gates can only refer to the pass of Derbend, places Βιραπαράχ there. This leads him into the glaring inconsistency of placing Ambazouces the Hun there also (Procopius I, 10). Spiegel, *op. cit.* III, 372 n. 2, also inclines toward the pass of Derbend. St. Martin and Lebeau (both cited by Brosset, *loc. cit.*) and Tomaschek in *P.-W.* III, 489 place it at the pass of Dariel, a view that seems in most ways preferable.

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west, has left us a notice in his *Getica*, VII, 50: quae (*sc.* Lampeto et Marpesia Amazones) dum curam gerunt, ut et propria defenderent et aliena vastarent, sortitae Lampeto resistit fines patrios tuendo, Marpesia vero feminarum agmine sumpta novum genus exercitui duxit in Asiam, diversasque gentes bello superans, alios vero pace concilians, ad Cauchasum venit, ibique certum tempus demorans loci nomen dedit Saxum Marpesiae, unde et Vergilius:

ac si dura silex aut stet Marpesia Cautes (VI, 471)

in eo loco, ubi post haec Alexander Magnus portas constituens Pylas Caspias nominavit, quod nunc Lazorum gens custodit pro munitione Romana.[38]

The Pass of Derbend, Caspian Gates III

Situated between the eastern end of a spur of the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea the pass of Derbend is the latest of our three passes to receive the name *portae Caspiae*, Κάσπιαι πύλαι. Sure instances of such usage are both very rare and very late, hardly to be found before the seventh century in connection with the events of the reign of Heraclius. The application of the term has little or nothing to do with the fact that the pass is along the Caspian Sea, but seems to be due to confusion with the pass of Dariel, with which it served the same general purposes. Such confusion was much facilitated after Khosro Anushirvan (531–579) had completed the building of the Iron Gate at Derbend and the Caucasian Wall from Derbend on the Caspian via the pass of Dariel and probably as far as Gagry on the Black Sea. The confusion was further facilitated by the similarity of the terms *Albani*, who lived mainly south of the pass of Derbend, and *Alani*, who lived north of the Caucasus and who gave to the pass of Dariel its permanent name. Among Greek and Latin authors no name for the pass

[38] The mention of the *Lazorum gens* guarding the gate is conclusive for the pass of Dariel; for the Lazi cf. Ptol. v, 9, 4 and Procopius, *Bell.* II, 28, 22 ff.; also Brosset, *op. cit.* I, 2, Addition IV, pp. 81 ff. esp. 83 together with the dissertations of St. Martin there cited and Stritter, *Memoriae populorum*, etc. IV, 21–175; Dubois du Montpereux, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, II, 67–133.

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of Derbend attained general currency. Ptolemy seems to call this pass Ἀλβάνιαι πύλαι 80°–47°, a term which would be parallel to the use of *Iberiae portae* applied to the pass of Dariel, and this identification is generally accepted, not however by Tomaschek.[39] In the Middle Ages it received such names as *Darband,* Persian for barrier, Georgian *Darouband; Bab-ul-abwab,* Arabic for Gate of Gates; *Damir-Kapi,* Turkish for Iron Gate; Armenian *Čor,* which Procopius, VIII, 3 transliterates Τζούρ, cf. Agathangelus *de S. Gregorio,* chap. 2, Τζουὰρ πύργος.

The first recorded use of the pass of Derbend by northern invaders was by the Scythians under Esar-Haddon (681–668 B.C., cf. Hdt. IV, 12). It is perfectly obvious that the fortification of the pass must have antedated the building of such extensive works as the Caucasian Wall. Indeed the Georgian Annals[40] speak of fortifications of the pass even before the time of Alexander. These annals however nowhere associate

[39] Tomaschek in *P.-W.* I, 1305 because the latitude and longitude of Ἀλβάνιαι πύλαι as given by Ptol. V, 8, 9, 80°–47° does not agree with that of the pass of Derbend, identifies them with the pass of *Khačmâz.* If we accept this view, we must hold either that Ptolemy was utterly ignorant of the pass of Derbend —a rather improbable supposition—or that he meant to indicate the coastal pass (the pass of Derbend) by Σαρματικαὶ πύλαι 81°–48° 30′—a supposition which likewise has little to commend it; for thus the pass of Dariel would be Σαρματικαὶ πύλαι V, 8, 5 at 77°–47°, while the pass of Derbend would be Σαρματικαὶ πύλαι V, 8, 9 at 81°–48° 30′. After all, the extreme rareness with which the term Ἀλβάνιαι πύλαι or *Albana porta* or the equivalent occurs in classical authors makes it preferable to conclude that Ptolemy was in error in the latitude and longitude to which he assigned the Albanian Gates and that after all the term refers to the pass of Derbend, and that the second location that he assigns to Σαρματικαὶ πύλαι is also an error.

Col. Yule in his *Ser Marco Polo,* I, p. 53, n. 3 erroneously identified the *Sarmatic Gates* of Ptolemy and the *claustra Caspiorum* (rather *Caspiarum*) of Tacitus with the pass of Derbend.

No basis for the Iron Gate of Derbend seems to have come into existence until the time of Khosro I Anushirvan, 531–579 A.D. Before that time from Josephus to Procopius inclusive the tradition of the iron gate belongs to the pass of Dariel. (By a strange coincidence we hear of an iron gate, *eisernes Thor,* near Derbent in central Asia, which is probably of the same etymological origin, see Schwarz, *Alexanders d. Grossen Feldzüge in Turkestan*[2], 75, cf. Kaerst in *P.-W.* II, 828 *s.v.* Arimazes.)

[40] Brosset, *op. cit.* I, p. 27; cf. I, 2, pp. 4–5.

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Alexander either with the passes through the Caucasus or with the building of gates in them or with the Caucasian Wall, of which they make no mention, and this is conclusive against regarding the legends of him in the Caucasus as native. Derbend seems not, however, to have become of prime importance until the time of the Sassanian kings of Persia, from whom it received its name. The work of fortification may have been begun by Kavadh I (488–531), but its completion should be credited to his son and successor Khosro I Anushirvan (531–579). The first contemporary source to associate Alexander with the pass of Derbend is Fredegarius, *Chron.* 60 (written about 660–670): Portas Caspias, quas Alexander Magnus Macedo super mare Caspium aereas fieri et serrari iusserat propter inundationes gentium saevissimarum, quae ultra montem habitabant, easdem portas Heraclius aperiri praecepit.[41] Note however that the gates are *aereas*, not *ferreas*.

The more reliable among the Persian and Arabic historians credit the building both of the Iron Gate of Derbend and of the Caucasian Wall to the Sassanian kings of Persia, Kavadh I and Khosro I Anushirvan. However, the spread of Mohammedanism to Daghestan (Shirvan, Albania) after its conquest by the Arabs in the early eighth century was a potent cause in establishing the legend of Dulcarnain (Iskandar, Alexander the Great) there.[42] For here they sought the physical basis for Dulcarnain's wall and gate. Recognizing that Dulcarnain was more ancient than either Kavadh or Khosro they modified the legend accordingly. They credited, to be sure, the construction of the Iron Gate of Derbend for yet a while to Kavadh and Khosro, but they represented it as having been

[41] That the pass of Derbend was here meant seems to have been indicated by *super mare Caspium* as well as by Theophanes 316, 1 de Boor. See Godfrey of Viterbo, *Pantheon*, XXI–XXII, 28. Cf. Gerland, *Die persischen Feldzüge des Kaisers Herakleios*, *Byz. Zeitschrift*, III (1894), 330–372, esp. 363–364 with notes 1 and 2.

[42] For the identity of Dulcarnain with Alexander the Great see Friedländer, *Chadhirlegende und Alexanderroman*, pp. 276 ff.; also Anderson, *Alexander's Horns* in *T.A.P.A.* LVIII (1927), 112.

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built on the ancient foundations of Iskandar's wall, the eastern end of which had been covered with sand and needed to be laid bare as the foundation of the new construction. And Anushirvan, although he had built the wall from the pass of Derbend via the pass of Dariel even to the Black Sea, was credited only with building the towers into it, and in the course of time the Caucasian Wall became known as *Sadd-i-Iskandar, Rampart of Alexander* from its legendary builder, or *Sadd-i-Yajuj va Majuj, Rampart of Gog and Magog,* from the peoples it was expected to keep out.

I cite the following selections from Mirza Alexander Kazem-Beg, *Derbend-Nameh* (St. Petersburg, 1851) pp. 3 ff.: After receiving a letter from Kavadh the Khan of the Khazars answered: "that the wall built by *Iskenderi-dulgkernein* should be chosen as the boundary between the two kingdoms, and that they (the Persians) should build a city there." . . . "Kavadh directs his grandees: 'build on this side of the wall of *Iskender*, close upon it, an extensive city; after (the construction of) which you will transmit to me the information:' the grandees after great preparations set out on their journey, and on arriving at Iskender's wall they found that one end of it, built of stone, jutted into the sea to the distance of a farsakh, and that (the rest) extended to the West even to the Black-sea. The grandees began, in fine, the building of the city which was finished at the expiration of seven months (years?); after which, having constructed iron gates, and named the city *Babul-abwáb-Derbend,* they gave notice to Gkubad-shah (Kavadh) in the following letter: 'By the grace of God and under the auspices of our king, we have built an extensive city, close upon the wall of Iskender and named it Babul-abwab-Derbend.'" "He also erected a wall, at the distance of three farsakhs from Derbend which extended to the distance of ninety-two farsakhs" (p. 7).

A parallel version of the Derbend-Nameh was made by Klaproth from another manuscript and published in *Nouv. Journ. As.* III (1829), 439 ff. and reprinted by Kazem-Beg,

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op. cit. pp. 10 ff. from which the pertinent portions are as follows: After the Khan of the Khazars had sent an embassy to Kavadh offering his daughter in marriage, Kavadh sent one to the Khan saying: "Nous voulons élever un mur sur la limite de ton territoire et du mien, afin que ni toi ni moi nous ne puissions, dans notre colère, nous faire du tort et nous attirer mutuellement la guerre."

Lorsque l'on fut convenu respectivement de cet objet, Kobâd fit aussitôt des préparatifs pour la construction du mur, Toutefois, comme on ne savait pas dans quel endroit on poserait la première pierre, l'ange *Djebrail* (*Gabriel*) indiqua le lieu ou jadis *Iskender Dzulkarnain* avait bâti un mur semblable: en consequence, Kobâd fit poser le sien sur les anciens fondemens qui existait encore; mais comme ils étaient couverts par le sable de la mer, qui empêchait de les voir, il fallut d'abord les déterrer. Il employa tous ses efforts à ce travail, et au rétablissement d'un mur au sud: quand il fut terminé, il en commença un autre, depuis la mer jusqu'a la limite extrême de Thabasserán qui etait éloignée de 90 *aghatch* de Derbend; il y plaça des portes de fer dans les endroits où c'était nécessaire et praticable, et finit le tout dans l'espace de sept ans. Par-là non-seulement Derbend mais aussi tout son royaume furent à l'abri des invasions des *Khaszari*, puisque cent hommes à chaque porte pouvaient arrêter cent mille ennemis.

* * * *

Les monarques qui, après la paix conclue entre Kobâd et le Khakân, occupèrent le trône de Perse, fortifièrent toujours de plus en plus Derbend et le mur; et Nouchirvân construisit sur cette frontière, de même que dans l'ouest sur celle de la Grèce, plusieurs villes. Derbend avait été bâti par Iskender Dzulkarnain; et avant Kobâd, la partie meridionale de cette ville avait été debarrassée du sable par *Jesdedjerd* . . . ; mais Nouchirvân l'acheva, et le fortifia entièrement à-peu-près quatre vingt ans avant la fuite du prophète (*i.e.* 542 A.D.). D'autres historiens racontent que Kobâd et Nouchirvân. . . .

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élevèrent trois cent soixante tours sur le mur qui s'étendait de Derbend à la *porte d'Allan.*[43]

The Persian poet Nizami, writing about 1191 A.D. his *Sikandar Nâma, e bara,* shows the importance that the pass of Derbend had assumed by that time in the legend of the building of Alexander's Gate and Rampart (translation by H. Wilberforce Clarke, London, 1881):

Canto XIII,
couplets 47 ff.: The door and wall that Darband first obtained,
It obtained by the wisdom of that wise one (Sikandar).
Pass beyond Bulghar, which is of his work;
Its true site is his Bunghar (chattel-place).
Verily, the barrier of (the tribe of) Yajuj became lofty by him:
—Who thus established a barrier on the mountain?
XXXVI, 25 ff.: Sikandar, who effected the prosperousness (of 'Ajam),—
The Iskandrian wall (of shelter) is—where to where?
From the circle of Chin (in the East) to the boundary of the West,

[43] See also the extract from the chapter III of *Risaletu-l-Intisar* by Dedeh-Afendi, entitled *The first and the lesser wall of Iskender known by the name of Djabalul-fat'h and by that of Algkabgk and Demir-Gkapi,* published in Kazem-Beg, *op. cit.* pp. 195 ff.

According to Kazem-Beg, *op. cit.* p. 227, the original *Derbend-Nâmeh* was in Persian by an unknown author, and the Turkish versions that we have were made from this by Muhammed-Awabi Agktashi, an Ottoman subject, or perhaps a native of the Crimea, who by some accident had moved from his native land to Anderey in Daghestan. The date of composition of the Persian original is uncertain, but it may perhaps go back as early as about 1100 A.D. More important than its actual date of composition is the fact that it seems based to a very considerable extent on the more reliable Persian and Arabic authorities, including for example Masudi and Hamzah of Ispahan. A manuscript of a Turkish version of the work was presented to Peter the Great on the occasion of his capture of Derbend in 1722, and shortly afterward the existence of the manuscript was made known to the scholars of Europe by Bayer through his dissertation on the Caucasian Wall. In the course of his travels in the Caucasus Jacob Reineggs transcribed a manuscript of the Derbend Nameh now to be found in the University Library of Göttingen; cf. his *Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus* (St. Petersburg, 1796–1797), I, p. 32. Other manuscripts are mentioned in M. A. Kazem-Beg, *op. cit.* pp. xii ff. and Supplement, pp. 224 ff.

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A foot-messenger run to his court.
XL: Sikandar visits the Gate of Gates, Darband on the Caspian,
Khazran, concealing the treasures in the ground and preparing enchantments over them.

See also XLI, 134 ff., of which a summary is given in Spiegel, *op. cit.* II, pp. 612–613, which deals with Alexander and the Khifchaks; also LV–LXV, Alexander and the Russians. See also the *Sikandar-Nâma, e bahri*, treated by Bacher, *Nizâmis Leben und Werke u. d. 2. Teil d. Nizâmischen Alexanderbuches* (Leipzig, 1871), p. 113.

In 1200, shortly after Nizami wrote, the Mongols under Genghis Khan burst the Gates of the Caucasus in the *reverse direction*, and the following century we have observations concerning Alexander's Gate made both by William of Rubruck (1253–1255 A.D.) and Marco Polo.

For the former I quote from *The Journey of William of Rubruck* (Hakluyt Society, London, 1900, translation by W. W. Rockhill):

Pp. 100–101 (Rubruck):

Beyond these are the Iron Gates, which Alexander made to keep the barbarian nations out of Persia; of these I shall tell you later; for I passed through this place on my way back, and between the two rivers in this country through which we were traveling used to live Comans Capchac before the Tartars occupied it.

Pp. 129–130:

Twas from this country of Pascatir that went forth the Huns, who were afterward the Hungarians; hence it is the same as greater Bulgaria. Isidorus says that with their swift horses they crossed the barrier which Alexander had built among the rocks of the Caucasus to confine the savage tribes.

P. 262:

Before we reached the Iron Gates we came to a walled hamlet (castellum) of the Alans. . . . The next day we came to the Iron Gates which Alexander the Macedonian made; and it is a town whose eastern end is on the sea-shore, and there is a small-sized plain between the mountains and the sea across which this town

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stretches to the top of the mountains adjoining it on the west. So it is that there is no road further up on account of the steepness of the mountains, nor any lower down by the sea, but only straight through the town where is the Iron Gate from which the town takes its name. The town is more than a mile long, and on the top of the mountain is a strong fort; its width however is but a stone's throw.

P. 263:

Two days thence we found another town called Samaron, . . . and when passing through it we noticed another coming down from the mountains to the sea. Leaving the road by the sea, for at this point it turned eastward, we went uphill toward the south.

The next day we crossed a valley where we saw the foundations of walls running from one mountain to another, and along the top of the mountains there was no road. These were once the claustra Alexandri, the barriers of Alexander shutting out the wild tribes, that is the desert nomads, so that they could not get in on the cultivated lands and the towns.

A generation later than William of Rubruck Marco Polo wrote (translation of Henry Yule):

CHAPTER IV. GEORGIANIA AND THE KINGS THEREOF

This is the country beyond which Alexander could not pass when he wished to penetrate the region of the *Ponent*, because that the defile was so narrow and perilous, *the sea lying on one hand and on the other lofty mountains impassable to horsemen.* The strait extends like this for four leagues, and a handful of people might hold it against the world. Alexander caused a very strong tower to be built there, to prevent the people beyond from passing to attack him, and this got the name of the IRON GATE. This is the place that the Book of Alexander speaks of when it tells how he shut up the Tartars *between two mountains;* not that they were really Tartars, however, for there were no Tartars in those days, but they consisted of a race of people called Comanians and many besides.

Marco Polo's account shows some peculiarities. In the first place the region to which Alexander sought to penetrate was not the *Ponent*, but the North. In the second he did not notice that the description of the defile of Derbend with *the sea*

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lying on one hand and on the other lofty mountains impassable to horsemen does not harmonize with the place whereof the Book of Alexander speaks as the site of Alexander's Gate—*between two mountains*. Quite unintentionally Marco Polo's description takes us back to the pass of Dariel.

We have now returned to the pass of Dariel, the original site of Alexander's Gate in legend, from which it was destined to travel still farther afield. The legend in the course of time became fused with that of Gog and Magog, and took on apocalyptic and eschatological significance. These features, however, especially as they appear in the Alexander Romance proper, must be deferred to the concluding instalment of this study.

The Caucasian Wall

Spiegel feels inclined to identify the Caucasian Wall with the Κιμμέρια τείχεα of Hdt. IV, 12 and therefore to date it back to Assyrian times.[44] Alexander's name as applied to this wall would have displaced that of the original builder. Redslob[45] would credit its construction to Cyrus the Great, whom he identifies with the legendary Feridun. Vogelstein[46] would date it before Alexander. Bayer[47] thinks that it was built by one of the Antiochi (*i.e.* Seleucids), and renewed by Kavadh and Khosro Anushirvan. It seems inconceivable that, if the wall had been built by a Hellenistic ruler, no mention of it should have been made. Even the Georgian Annals contain no mention of the wall. It therefore seems preferable with Arabic historians and geographers and also Hamza of Ispahan[48] to credit the construction of the wall and also of the Iron Gate of Derbend to Khosro I Anushirvan (531–579 A.D.) with the

[44] Spiegel, *Erânische Altertumskunde*, II, p. 605.

[45] Redslob, *Z.D.M.G.* IX, 214 ff.

[46] Vogelstein, *Adnotationes quaedam ex litteris orientalibus petitae* (Breslau, 1865), p. 28.

[47] Bayer, *de Muro Caucaseo*, in *Comment. Acad. Petrop.* I (1726), 426–463. My knowledge of this is based on extracts and summaries of it made by other writers. Gibbon points out that the investigation contains no map.

[48] Masudi II, pp. 2, 73, 196; Hamza of Ispahan, pp. 57–58.

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probability that the work had been begun by his father Kavadh. The works consisted in a mole continued by double walls in which was set a gate, the Damir-Kapi or Iron Gate of the Turks, the Bab-el-abwab or Gate of Gates of the Arabs. These constituted the fortifications of Derbend proper. The following early modern references to Alexander's legend at the pass of Derbend may be cited: Anthony Jenkinson, A.D. 1562, *Hakluyt's Voyages*, III, p. 196; Christopher Burrough, A.D. 1580, *ib.* p. 236; "From the Castle Derbent Eastwards, there reach two stone wals to the border of the Caspian sea, which is distant one English mile. Those wals are 9. foote thicke, and 28. or 30. foote high, and the space betweene them is 160. Geometricall paces, that is 800. foot. There are yet to be perceived of the ruine of those wals, which do now extend into the sea about halfe a mile: also from the castle Westward into the land, they did perceive the ruines of a stone wal to extend, which wal, as it is reported, did pass from thence to Pontus Euxinus, and was built by Alexander the great when the castle of Derbent was made." "At the point of the mountain, at the extremity of the fortress of Derbend where the double wall terminates, there begins a single wall constructed in the same manner, only this no longer runs in a straight line, but accommodates itself to the contour of the hill, turning now to the north and now to the south. At first it is quite destroyed, and showed the most scanty vestiges, a few small heaps of stones or traces of towers, but all extending in a general bearing from east to west. . . . It is not until you get about 4 versts from Derbend, in traversing the mountains, that you come upon a continuous wall. Thenceforward you can follow it over the successive ridges . . . and through several villages chiefly occupied by the Tartar hill-people. The wall makes many windings, and every three-fourths of a verst it exhibits substantial towers like those of the city wall, crested with loop-holes. Some of these are still in tolerably good condition; others have fallen and with the wall itself left but slight vestiges." [49]

[49] Eichwald, *Periplus des kaspischen Meeres*, I, p. 128 quoted by Yule.

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"The famous Dagh Bary (mountain wall) now begins at the village of Djelgen, 4 versts SW of Derbend, but we know that as late as the beginning of the last century it could be traced down to the southern gate of the city. This ancient wall then stretches westward to the high mountains of Tabasseran (it seems the Tabarestan of Masudi). . . . Then he enumerates the following sites of remains in the wall: In the famous defile of Dariel, NE of Kazbek. In the valley of the Assai river, near Wapila, about 35 versts NE of Dariel. In the valley of the Kizil river, about 15 versts NW of Kazbek. Farther west, in the valley of the Fiag or Pog river, between *Lacz* and *Khilak*. From this place further west about 25 versts, in the valley of the *Arredon* river, in the district of *Valaghir*. Finally the westernmost section of the Caucasian Wall has been preserved, which was evidently intended to shut up the maritime defile of *Gagry*, on the Black Sea." H. C.[50]

Dulcarnain's wall was an object of interest to Caliph Wathiq, but Sallam the Interpreter failed to find it for him in the Caucasus, as will be brought out in my second paper. Peter the Great took Derbend in 1722, an event that stimulated Bayer to make the investigation referred to above. At that time (1722) "the measure of the wall was found to be 3285 orgygiae, or fathoms, each of seven English feet; in the whole somewhat more than four miles in length." "According to a recent description,[51] huge stones seven feet thick, twenty-one feet in length or height, are artificially joined without iron or cement, to compose a wall, which runs about three hundred miles from the shores of Derbend, over the hills and through the valleys of Daghestan and Georgia" (quoted from Gibbon, *l.c.*). He does not give his source for this quotation; it is probably not from Bayer. Olearius, *Voyage en Perse*, pp. 1032–1041, and Vogelstein, *op. cit.*, hold that the stones are a concrete of shells, sand, and gravel.

[50] Dubois de Montpereux, *Voyage autour de Caucase* (1840), IV, pp. 291–298.

[51] Quoted by Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. XL, vol. V, note k.

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In 1832 some Russian officers visited the place and reported as follows:

> The Caucasian Wall begins at the southern angle of Ft. Narym, and runs from east to west over the heights and along the ravines. Where the wall follows the slope, the upper bricks (2½ ft. wide, 1 ft. thick), placed without cement, project beyond the lower ones. The three hundred towers between Darband and the Gate of Allan are filled with earth and of the same height as the wall.

Quoted from H. Wilberforce Clarke, *The Sikandar Nâma, e bara* (Nizami), p. 443 n.

De Goeje[52] has more recently argued that the Wall of Gog and Magog was in reality the Great Wall of China, inasmuch as Sallam the Interpreter failed to find it in the Caucasus and because some writers like Qodama and Firdausi transferred the scene of its building to the far northeast or east. This view would be very plausible were it not for the fact that ample material and physiographic basis for the legend exists in the Caucasus. It may be pointed out, however, that the same motive that prompted the building of the Great Wall of China also prompted the building of the Caucasian Wall and against the same peoples in general, but the words of Noeldeke[53] should be quoted with full approval:

> So begreiflich es ist dass sie Muslime mit ihrer besseren Länderkenntnis die Pforte gegen Gog und Magog nach Hochasien verlegten, und so richtig de Goeje's Deutung auf die chinesische Grenzbefestigung sein wird: die ursprüngliche Stelle des Alexanderthors bleibt der Kaukasus.

[52] De Goeje, "De Muur van Gog en Magog," *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der K. Akad. van Wetenschapen*, letterkunde, 3. Reeks, Deel 5, 87 ff.

[53] Noeldeke, "Beitraege zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans," *Denkschriften der kais. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Classe, xxxviii (1890), v Abhandlung, 33, n. 5.

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IX.—*Phalerum and the Phaleric Wall*

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Throughout the past fifty years there has been much discussion concerning the location of Phalerum.[1] The archaeological and literary evidence for its location is quite meagre. On the basis of four principal considerations, however, it is possible to determine the proper location of this place. First, there is very definite evidence from classical writers that Phalerum was situated on the coast. Pausanias informs us that *at* Phalerum the sea approached closest to Athens.[2] Thucydides, writing τὰ μακρὰ τείχη ἐς θάλασσαν Ἀθηναῖοι οἰκοδομεῖν, τό τε Φαληρόνδε καὶ τὸ ἐς Πειραιᾶ, shows Phalerum to have been on the coast.[3] A papyrus from Hawara describes the course of the Phaleric Wall as Ἐκ[δὲ Φαλήρου and thus indicates that Phalerum was on the coast since it was the terminal of the Phaleric Wall.[4] Furthermore, before the Piraeus became the seaport of Athens, Phalerum served as the Athenian port. For this reason it would quite likely have

[1] See the discussion and bibliographies in Frazer, *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, II, pp. 11–13 and Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, p. 157, n. 6 and pp. 376–377 (hereafter to be referred to as Frazer and Judeich).

[2] Paus. I, 1, 2 and VIII, 10, 4. The scholiast to Ar. *Av.* 1694, reckons the distance from the Acropolis to the Phaleric Bay as twenty stadia. This seems to be the scholiast's interpretation of Pausanias's statements. The scholiast to Aristeides XIII gives the distance from Athens to the sea as thirty stadia. His authority as against that of Pausanias is of little weight.

[3] I, 107, 1.

[4] The papyrus from Hawara was first published by Sayce in Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoë*, p. 28, frags. 80 and 81. Milchhoefer includes it in his *Schriftquellen zur Topographie von Athen*, p. cxx in Curtius, *Die Stadtgeschichte von Athen*. A very adequate restoration and discussion by Wilcken appears in *Genethliakon für C. Robert*, pp. 210 ff. under the title *Die Attische Periegese von Hawara* (hereafter to be referred to as Wilcken). See ll. 25–27.

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been on the coast.[5] Perhaps, too, some weight should be attributed to the fact that Παλαιὸν Φάλερον is the name of the village now at the eastern end of the Phaleric Bay.[6]

Second, Pausanias informs us that Phalerum was twenty stadia distant from Cape Colias.[7] The modern Cape Cosmas, near Chasani, is rather definitely the site of classical Cape Colias. Third, Pausanias also informs us that Phalerum was about twenty stadia distant from Athens.[8] Fourth, Strabo catalogues the coastal demes in order as follows: Piraeus, Phalerum, Halimus, Aexone, etc.[9] Thus the deme and consequently the town of Phalerum were east of the Piraeus.

Therefore Phalerum should be located (1) on the coast, (2) east of the Piraeus, (3) about twenty stadia from Athens, and (4) about twenty stadia from Cape Colias. Furthermore, there is no evidence that the port Phalerum and the town Phalerum were two different places.

Heretofore the following locations have been suggested for Phalerum: (1) New Phalerum,[10] (2) St. Saviour,[11] and (3) near St. George at Old Phalerum.[12] Let us now determine which

[5] Hdt. VI, 116; Diod. XI, 41; Nepos, *Them.* 6; Paus. I, 1, 2; see Frazer, II, p. 12.

[6] Baedeker, *Greece*, 4th revised edition, p. 98.

[7] Paus. I, 1, 5. Cape Colias was located near the modern Cape Cosmas. See Frazer, II, pp. 35–36 and the recent evidence in *B.S.A.* XXIV (1919–1920; 1920–1921), pp. 151–160. Further confirmation of this fact may be gained from the fact that Phalerum cannot be located properly, in the light of our evidence, if Cape Colias should be placed at St. George. With Cape Colias placed at St. George, Phalerum to be twenty stadia removed would have to be placed either near New Phalerum or near St. Saviour. We shall see below that neither of these sites is satisfactory. Strabo's authority in placing Cape Colias near Anaphlystus should be discounted. See *Class. Phil.* I (1906), 353 and *A.J.A.* VII (1903), 286.

[8] Paus. VIII, 10, 4.

[9] Strabo, IX, 21.

[10] Leake, *Topography of Athens*, p. 386, n. 2 and p. 401; Gardner, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 57–58 and 551–553.

[11] *Ath. Mitth.* XVII (1892), 378, n. 4; Milchhoefer, *Karten von Attika*, Text, II, pp. 1–4; Judeich, p. 149 and p. 157, n. 6; Weller, *Athens and its Monuments*, p. 73.

[12] Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen*, II, pp. 157 ff.; Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, I, p. 361; Frazer, II, pp. 11–13; Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, I, p. 121.

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one of these three sites satisfies the three qualifications above noted.[13]

	Distance from Athens	Distance from Cape Colias
New Phalerum	about 40 stadia	about 45 stadia
St. Saviour	about 15 stadia	about 40 stadia
St. George	about 20 stadia	about 25 stadia

One will note at once that New Phalerum satisfies only one requirement, namely, that it is on the coast east of the Piraeus. With respect to St. Saviour one must first note that it is not on the coast and second that it satisfies none of the other requirements. Although St. George is more than twenty stadia from Cape Colias it is evident that Phalerum should be located at that point since it satisfies sufficiently well the three qualifications noted. In fact no other site can be found which can satisfy the qualifications so well.

The ancient port of Phalerum would then be at St. George at the extremity of the swampy territory now called ἡ Μίσια.[14] The distance from the nearest point on the wall of Athens to Phalerum, thus located, would be but little more than twenty stadia. The harbor was merely an open roadstead and quite exposed to the winds.[15]

[13] The author does not here pretend to give anything but the approximate distances. They may be checked by referring to the appropriate maps in *Karten von Attika.* (Hereafter to be referred to as *K.A.*) Milchhoefer, *K.A.* Text, II, pp. 1 ff. (cf. Ulrichs, *op. cit.* II, p. 151) assumes an elevation of the coast line, making Athens now farther from the sea than in ancient times. This is summoning probability to the aid of a thesis. The burden of the proof rests with him. In this connection it is interesting to note that at least one scholar has assumed that exactly the opposite has happened: that the coast line has subsided since ancient times, bringing Athens closer to the sea. See Negris, *Ath. Mitth.* XXIX (1904), 348 ff.

[14] Judeich, p. 376.

[15] Archestratus in Ath. VII, 285 b. The southwest wind is now prevalent, on the average, sixty-five days each year at Athens. See Judeich, p. 48. For various remains found near the proposed site of Phalerum see Dodwell, *Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece*, I, pp. 427 ff. and Ulrichs, *op. cit.* pp. 158 ff. Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, p. 115 reports remains of an ancient Greek mole found by diving near St. George. Negris, *l.c.*, thought that he had discovered remains of ship sheds submerged at a point two hundred and fifty meters distant from St. George. See the criticism of Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres*, *Klio*, Beiheft, XIV, 247, No. 48.

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Three principal views are held with regard to the location of the Phaleric Wall. Judeich maintains that the wall ran from the southwestern corner of the Hill of the Muses (H), over Sicelia Hill (E) and past St. Saviour (D), where he would locate Phalerum, and thence by a sharp turn to the southwest to the Piraeus.[16] Another group of scholars maintain that the wall ran to St. George (B) where they would locate Phalerum. The scholars of this group do not agree among themselves with regard to the place of juncture of the wall with the wall of Athens.[17] A third view maintains that there were never more than two walls from Athens to the sea and that the Phaleric Wall was the southern Long Wall to the Piraeus.[18] The first view seems to prevail at present. It

[16] Judeich, pp. 148 f. For the location of Sicelia Hill see *Ath. Mitth.* XXI (1896), 339–346.

[17] Curtius, *Attische Studien*, I, p. 73 and *Sieben Karten*, pp. 33 ff. Ulrichs, *op. cit.* II, pp. 158 ff. Kaupert, *Monatsberichte d. Berl. Akad.* 1879, 632 ff. Milchhoefer in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, map 1 to the article "Athen." Curtius and Kaupert, *Atlas von Athen*, Bl. III, place the point of juncture midway between the Itonian Gate and the southwestern corner of the Hill of the Muses. Milchhoefer, *op. cit.* map 1, places the point of juncture immediately east of the Itonian Gate.

[18] Gardner, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 68–71; Caspari, *J.H.S.* XXXIV (1914), 242–248. Four main points concerning the latter treatment must be noted, and the general argument applies also to the former since the latter is a development out of it. First, the theory is based on the assumption that Phalerum was located at the middle of or the western end of the Phaleric Bay. This point is discussed in the body of the present paper. Second, a specialized meaning of διὰ μέσου τεῖχος is adopted. See Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, I, p. 328, n. 2 and p. 329, n. 3. Furthermore, the cases quoted, to throw light on the interpretation of Plato, *Gorg.* 455E, are from much later writers: Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom, and the scholiast to Plato. Third, in order to make Thucydides conform to his theory, Caspari adopts the very specialized (if at all proper) interpretation of τὸ ἔξωθεν in τὰ δὲ μακρὰ τείχη πρὸς τὸν Πειραῖα ὧν τὸ ἔξωθεν ἐτηρεῖτο (Thuc. II, 13, 7). This forces the assumption of a double-faced wall; *J.H.S.* XXXIV (1914), 247, n. 22. Fourth, Andoc. III, 3–7 furnishes very erroneous chronology and his authority, although he was about nine years of age in 431 B.C., should not be reckoned as valuable as that of Thucydides. The chronological errors of Andocides cannot be fully treated in this place but it is worth while to note the following details. After the ostracism of Cimon Andocides (*l.c.*) dates the fortification of the Piraeus, then the building of the northern Long Wall, and, next, the Thirty Years Peace during which,

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rests chiefly on the basis of an assumed fear, on the part of the Athenians, of an attack by way of the undefended coast line of the Phaleric Bay.

Our information concerning the wall is exceedingly meagre but fairly definite. First, the length of the wall was thirty-five stadia. Thucydides is the authority for this statement and he is supported by a papyrus from Hawara, which dates from the latter part of the fourth century, B.C.[19] Second, our information concerning the terminal points of the wall is by no means ambiguous. Thucydides definitely indicates that the terminals were Athens and Phalerum.[20] The papyrus from Hawara definitely indicates that Phalerum was one of the terminals. Furthermore, one may reasonably infer from the papyrus that Athens was the other terminal.[21] Third, we

he says, the ship sheds were built, much work was done on the Acropolis, and the Southern Long Wall was built. It is quite evident that Andocides must be used with care. For his unsatisfactory chronology see *Cambridge Ancient History*, v, pp. 468 f.

[19] II, 13, 7. Judeich, p. 150, n. 4, in order to justify his thesis, assumes a corruption of the MS. of Thucydides in this passage. He confesses, however, that, if this occurred, it must have happened quite early since the scholiast to Aristophanes (*Eq.* 815) gives the distance between Athens and Phalerum as thirty-five stadia, evidently drawing a false inference from Thuc. II, 13, 7. But we have further evidence that the passage is not corrupt from a commentary to Thucydides, preserved in a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus. It dates from the latter part of the first or the first part of the second century, A.D. For the text see Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, VI (1908), No. 853, Col. IX, l. 7, and Fischer, *Thucydidis Reliquiae in Papyris et Membranis Aegyptiacis Servatae* (Leipzig, 1913), Col. IX, l. 7. For the date and value see the above two works with commentary; Christ-Schmid, *Griechische Litteraturgeschichte*, I, p. 492; and Classen-Steup, *Thukydides*, Einleitung, p. xl. Aristodemus, V, 4 states that the length of the Phaleric Wall was thirty stadia. If any importance is attached to this statement it must be taken in conjunction with Thucydides's statement, so that one would infer that round numbers were being used in each case and that the wall was between thirty and thirty-five stadia in length. For the Hawara papyrus see Wilcken, ll. 25–27.

[20] I, 107, 1. *τὰ μακρὰ τείχη ἐς θάλασσαν Ἀθηναῖοι οἰκοδομεῖν, τό τε Φαληρόνδε καὶ τὸ ἐς Πειραιᾶ.* Wilcken, p. 211 calls attention to the fact that Thucydides would not have written *τό τε Φαληρόνδε καὶ τὸ ἐς Πειραιᾶ* if he had not been closely differentiating between the terminals of the two walls.

[21] Ἐκ[δὲ Φαλήρου in Wilcken, *l.c.* To be sure this is a restoration but a rather certain one. See Wilcken's comment, p. 210.

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have somewhat of an indication of the course of the wall from the Hawara papyrus. Wilcken restores ll. 25–29 as follows:

'Εκ[δὲ Φαλήρου ὑπὲρ τὴν]
Σικελίαν Προ̣ή̣ε[ι ἐπὶ πέντε καὶ τριά]-
κοντα σταδίου[ς τρίτον(?) τεῖχος ὥστε]
τὸ σύμπαν γείνε[σθαι ἑκατον πεντεκαί]-
δεκα, δέον τῶν[. . . . . .]

I would suggest at this point that παρά might well be substituted for ὑπέρ in l. 25, but I shall discuss this more fully in a later section. At any rate we have an indication that E (see Map on p. 178) was in some way connected with the wall:[22] the wall either ran along beside Sicelia Hill or over it. Consequently we have the following data for the wall: (1) the terminals were Athens and Phalerum, (2) the length was thirty-five stadia, and (3) it ran along beside or over Sicelia Hill. As for the remains at times attributed to the wall it should be stated that none can be satisfactorily shown to have belonged to it.[23]

In the past certain scholars have suggested that the Phaleric Wall ran from St. George (B on Map) to a point east of the

[22] If ὑπέρ should be retained the passage would have the meaning that the wall ran over Sicelia Hill (E on Map, which is drawn only roughly to scale). See Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, *s.v.* ὑπέρ. If παρά should be substituted for ὑπέρ, as suggested here, the passage would have the meaning that the wall passed by and rather near Sicelia Hill. See Preisigke, *op. cit. s.v.* παρά. Wilcken retains the ὑπέρ and suggests (p. 211) that Curtius and Kaupert's view would be thus supported inasmuch as Sicelia Hill is in line with St. George. This would be true if the wall should join the wall of Athens at a point midway between the Hill of the Muses (H) and the Itonian Gate (A)—as in Curtius and Kaupert, *Atlas von Athen*, Bl. III—or possibly true if the point of juncture should be at H. There is no good reason for assuming that the Phaleric Wall joined the wall of Athens at a point midway between A and H. Sicelia Hill possesses its full strategic value as long as it is within the line of fortifications. It is quite unlikely then that the Athenians would involve themselves in the difficulties of building a wall up and down the steep inclines of Sicelia Hill as long as the same result could be secured by building the wall farther to the east over comparatively level ground.

[23] For the remains assigned at times to the wall see Frazer, II, p. 12 and Judeich, pp. 148–9 and n. 4.

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Itonian Gate (Itonian Gate at A on Map. The wall thus plotted appears as Phal. X on Map).[24] This is in general the proper course for the wall. Many good reasons for plotting the wall thus have not been brought forward. In case ὑπέρ should be retained in l. 25 of the papyrus from Hawara the wall should be plotted from St. George, over Sicelia Hill (E), to the southwestern corner of (H) the Hill of the Muses (for convenience of reference I shall call this wall Phal. S. It appears on the map as a dotted line). In tabular form let us examine Phal. X, Phal. S, and the course of the wall proposed by Judeich (I refer to it as Phal. J) to determine how nearly each satisfies the three specifications noted above.[25]

Wall	Terminals	Length	Course
Phal. X	A and Ph.	about 35 stadia	along beside E
Phal. J	A and Pir.	about 45 stadia	over E
Phal. S	A and Ph.	about 33 stadia	over E
A-Athens.	Ph.-Phalerum.	Pir.-The Piraeus wall.	E-Sicelia Hill.

[24] Milchhoefer in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, map 1 to the article "Athen"; Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen*, II, pp. 158 ff. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, map IV; *id. Attische Studien*, I, p. 75.

[25] The distances may be readily calculated from the *Karten von Attika* and from Kaupert's article in *Monatsberichte d. Berl. Akad.* 1879, 632 ff. We should note here that Thuc. II, 13, 7 is incorrect, or the text corrupt, in one respect. Thucydides here informs us that part of the city wall was to be left unguarded in 431 and that the guarded part would be forty-three stadia in length. As a matter of fact the entire circuit of Athens in the fifth century, B.C., was not as much as this in length. See Judeich, p. 121 and Weller, *op. cit.* p. 63. Judeich, p. 122, n. 6 suggests that the MS. of Thucydides originally read τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα. The scholiast to Thuc. (II, 13, 7) suggests that the entire city wall was sixty stadia in circumference, whereas the length of the unguarded part was seventeen stadia. Since the scholia to Thucydides took their final form probably during the age of Justinian (see Schwabe, *Quaestiones de Scholiorum Thucydideorum Fontibus* in *Leipziger Studien*, IV (1881), 145) one may more readily understand the origin of the statement that the wall of Athens was sixty stadia in circumference. The course of the wall at that time was probably the same as at the time of Hadrian, whose wall would be sufficiently near to sixty stadia in circumference to account for the scholiast's error. Soteriou, Τὸ Ἰουστινιάνειον τεῖχος τῶν μεσαιωνικῶν Ἀθηνῶν, has suggested that the Valerian Wall belongs to the age of Justinian. Guidi, in a paper read before the Italian School at Athens, takes issue with this view. See *A.J.A.* XXVI (1922), 353; cf. Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* I, pp. 705 and 724.

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Thus, Phal. X almost exactly satisfies the specifications. Phal. S is hardly so satisfactory since it lacks about two stadia of meeting the requirement of length. Also, it seems an unlikely course since the precipitous character of the south-western corner of the Hill of the Muses would make the building of a wall at that point exceedingly difficult. Lastly, Phal. J practically ignores all the requirements except the third, that of running along beside or over Sicelia Hill.

The views of Judeich and other scholars who oppose the view that the Phaleric Wall ran to St. George (B) are based upon the assumption that the Athenians feared an attack by way of the undefended coast of the Phaleric Bay. In fact these scholars disregard practically all the evidence from ancient writers and plot the wall according to their own ideas of the proper method of defense.

At first thought the defensive value of two walls such as those labelled Phal. X and North Wall on my map would seem to be negligible. In 457 B.C. the Athenians, according to Thucydides, built two walls to the sea, one to Phalerum, the other to the Piraeus.[26] Thus at that time the coast of the Phaleric Bay was undefended. The same situation existed in 431 B.C. since, despite the fact that a second wall had been built to the Piraeus (labelled South Wall on the Map), only Phal. X and the North Wall were to be defended.[27] At this time too the coast of the Phaleric Bay was undefended. There are good reasons, however, why these walls were a very sensible method of defense for the Athenians both in 457 and 431 B.C. The chief defensive interest of the Athenians in 457 B.C. was security on land. Their navy was not only an efficient defensive weapon but also their most effective offensive arm. During this year the Corinthian Gulf fleet of the Athenians prevented the Spartans from crossing the Crisaean Gulf in order to return to Lacedaemon after restoring the hegemony of Thebes in Boeotia.[28] In 431 B.C. also the chief defensive

[26] I, 107, 1 and 108, 3.
[27] *Id.* II, 13, 7.
[28] *Id.* I, 107, 3.

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interest of the Athenians was security by land. Pericles at that time adopted the so-called strategy of exhaustion—Delbrück's "Ermattungsstrategie." [29] The following is Thucydides's exposition of the campaign strategy.[30] All the inhabitants of Attica were to withdraw within the walls of Athens. Thucydides mentions the Phaleric Wall and the two Long Walls to the Piraeus. Of the latter, the outer one was to be guarded.[31] Thus the northern one of the Long Walls and the Phaleric Wall and all the wall of Athens except the part between the northern Long Wall and the Phaleric Wall were to be garrisoned.[32] Finally, only one half of the wall of Piraeus was to be garrisoned.[33] The fact that the entire circuit of the Piraeus was not to be guarded is sufficient indication that Pericles did not plan an absolutely closed circuit and that he was not concerned with the matter of defense by sea. Furthermore, Thucydides furnishes additional proof of this when he describes the Peloponnesian raid on the Piraeus at the outset of the winter of the third year of the war. Thucydides writes that the Piraeus was not closed or guarded, evidently because the Athenians were so superior to their enemies in naval power.[34]

A type of fortification based on the same principle as that just suggested for Athens at this time existed at Crane in Cephallenia. Lehmann-Hartleben describes it as follows: "Der selbe Gesichtspunkt der Sicherung der Zugangsstrasse

[29] *Id.* II, 13. Delbrück, *Die Strategie des Perikles erläutert durch die Strategie Friedrich des Grossen*, 1890.

[30] II, 13.

[31] *Id.* II, 13, 7.

[32] *Id.* II, 13, 7. Steup (Classen-Steup, *op. cit.* II, p. 40, n. to l. 49) is evidently mistaken in his interpretation of τὸ μακρὸν (τεῖχος) for there would be no reason for guarding a section of wall which was not exposed to an attack by the enemy. If the northern Long Wall to the Piraeus were guarded and the Phaleric or the southern Long Wall to the Piraeus as well, it is obvious that the section of the wall of Athens between the two walls to the Piraeus would be already protected. Curtius, *Attische Studien*, I, p. 75, n. 1 holds ἔστι δὲ . . . Φαληρικοῦ for a gloss. Steup is not inclined to agree.

[33] Thuc. II, 13, 7.

[34] II, 93, 1.

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von der Skala und zu ihr tritt besonders klar in kephallenischen Krane hervor, wo das eigentliche Stadtgebiet mit den Hafen erst durch zwei Mauern in Verbindung gesetzt ist, die sich anscheinend an seinem Ufer totliefen. Während die südliche gradlinig von Stadthügel den Abhang hinter zum Hafen steigt, verrät die nördliche in ihrer eigenartigen Führung offenbar eine Rücksichtnahme auf die Strasse, die in gewunden Zuge den Abhang emporsteig." [35] With Phalerum located at St. George, one wall running to Phalerum, and another running to the Piraeus, we should have a situation quite similar to that at Crane—protection of lines of communication by land with no consideration of an attack from the sea.

A further test should be applied, therefore, to the course of the wall as suggested in this paper: what line of communication by land does it defend? The traveller Pausanias, who wrote in the second century A.D., approached Athens by the road from Phalerum. He wrote as follows: "When one has entered the city there is the monument of the Amazon Antiope." [36] From this statement it has been correctly inferred that the road from Phalerum entered Athens through the Itonian Gate.[37] The remains of an ancient road at this point have been observed by archaeologists.[38] Thus we know the location of the road to Phalerum in the second century, A.D. In all

[35] Lehmann Hartleben, *op. cit.* p. 78. This writer evidently accepts the conclusions of Wilcken above mentioned and gives the above reasonable explanation for the course of the wall. He goes no further in his discussion of the problem.

[36] I, 2, 1.

[37] Weller, *Athens and Its Monuments*, pp. 65, 76, and 167 names the western gate, through which the road to Phalerum entered the city, the Itonian Gate and believes, in opposition to Judeich, that Pausanias entered the city at this point and that the stele of Antiope was near-by. See Weller's map, at the end of the volume, facing p. 404. Judeich, p. 132, n. 7 believes that the road to Phalerum entered Athens by way of the Diomean Gate. He attaches this name to the gate which is almost due south of the Military Hospital. The Itonian Gate he places farther to the east. For the present one should note that there is substantial agreement concerning the location of the road to Phalerum and the point of entrance into the city.

[38] Curtius and Kaupert, *Atlas von Athen*, Bl. II and p. 14; Judeich, p. 132.

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probability the same road to Phalerum was used during the fifth century B.C. Phal. X, therefore, meets the requirement of defending a line of communication by land.

Even if Phal. S should be the proper course for the wall it would still defend a line of communication by land. This fact is made clear by an inspection of the roads leading to the Piraeus. The main road to the Piraeus seems to have been the one which ran outside and near the Northern Long Wall.[39] There was also a road to the Piraeus between the Long Walls.[40] Two gates led to this road; one between the Hill of the Muses and the Pnyx, the other between the Pnyx and the Hill of the Nymphs. Traces of a road have been found near the gate first mentioned. But the territory between these two hills was ill suited to convenient communication, so that the road between the walls to the Piraeus seems to have been used only in time of necessity, such as, for example, a siege.[41] With respect to communication with Phalerum, the condition might have been somewhat the same in case the Phaleric Wall joined the Athenian circuit at H (see Map). The present high road to Old Phalerum, which seems to approximate the old road to ancient Phalerum, would, if the Phaleric Wall were thus plotted, be outside of the wall in the section extending from Athens to a point about south of the Sicelia Hill.[42] But remains of a road have been observed passing over the Hill of the Muses through a gate (probably the Melitean Gate) near the southwestern corner of the hill. It seems to have run farther toward the south until it joined the main road to Phalerum at a point about south of the Sicelia Hill.[43] Since the road over the Hill of the Muses was ill suited to convenient communication, it would have been used only in case of necessity; this was also true of the road between the Long Walls.[44] Thus, Phal. S would have protected the road to Phalerum.

[39] Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* II, pp. 178–180; Judeich, pp. 173–174.

[40] Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* II, p. 178; Judeich, p. 173.

[41] See the quotation from Ross, *Theseion* in Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* II, p. 179.

[42] Curtius and Kaupert, *Atlas von Athen*, Bl. II.

[43] *Ibid.* and p. 14.

[44] See the quotation from Ross, *op. cit.* in Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* II, p. 179.

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But the objection may be raised that there was no reason for defending communications with Phalerum, which must have been an unimportant place in 457 B.C. since the Athenians had transferred their port to the Piraeus in 493–492 B.C.[45] There is, however, evidence to indicate that, despite the removal of the port to the Piraeus, Phalerum retained much of its former importance. First, the land near Phalerum was quite fertile, unlike much of the land of Attica, and would probably have been protected by the Athenians if they had been able to do so. Leake writes that the plain in the vicinity of the southern Long Wall was adapted to market gardens, being moist, low, and easily irrigated from the Cephissus.[46] Herodotus informs us that when the Spartans attempted to drive out the Pisistratids Anchimolius disembarked his army at Phalerum. Thereupon the Pisistratids summoned aid from Thessalian allies and laid waste the plain of Phalerum.[47] This fact would indicate fertility of the Phaleric plain. Xenophon while discussing agriculture[48] refers to the excellent quality of the soil of the Phaleric plain. Second, Phalerum was important as a fishing station and the kinds of fish caught in the Phaleric Bay furnish frequent occasion for comment to ancient authors.[49] Third, there is evidence that the deme of Phalerum retained very much of its importance and prosperity in the fifth and immediately following centuries. This statement is based upon the number of citizens registered within the deme.[50] Fourth, since it was much nearer than the

This road might well be the ξενικὴ ὁδός, the oldest commercial road which ran to Phalerum. See Plut. *Thes.* XIX, 5; cf. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, p. 58, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, I, p. 383, and *Hermes*, XXV, 11.

[45] Thuc. I, 93, 3. That the Emporium was built in the Piraeus at about this time has little bearing upon the problem as we shall see below. For the date see the discussion by von Gerkan, *Griechische Stadtanlagen*, pp. 42–61.

[46] Leake, *op. cit.* p. 397 and n. 4.

[47] V, 63. See Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, p. 91.

[48] *Oec.* 19, 6.

[49] Leake, *op. cit.* p. 397 and n. 3. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, p. 9 interprets Xenophon's reference (*Vect.* 1, 3) to the sea as "all productive" as referring to the fisheries and the preparation of salt.

[50] Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 375 and n. 1.

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Piraeus, the Athenians continued to use the port of Phalerum on many occasions. In fact, Pausanias was able to say that it was one of the ports at the time he visited Athens.[51]

Consequently we may say that the course of the Phaleric Wall proposed by Judeich is incorrect. Phal. X satisfies all conditions best and would be the most probable course of the wall. In case, however, ὑπέρ should be retained in l. 25 of the papyrus from Hawara, Phal. S would be the best course for the wall.

We may now reconstruct the history of the Phaleric Wall in its relation to the Long Walls. Thucydides informs us that about 457 B.C. the Athenians began to build the Long Walls to the sea and that one of them ran to the Piraeus and the other to Phalerum.[52] He also informs us that they were completed a short time later.[53] Again, he explains Pericles's plan for defending Athens in 431 B.C. In the course of this explanation he indicates that there were two walls to the Piraeus, but that only the outer (North Wall on the Map) was to be defended. The Phaleric Wall was also to be defended.[54] The second wall to the Piraeus (South Wall on the Map) was thus built between 457 and 431 B.C., probably at the advice of Pericles.[55] It was called διὰ μέσου τεῖχος until 393–392 B.C. when the name τὸ νότιον was first applied to it.[56] It is evident

[51] I, 1, 4. Here he calls Phalerum a λιμήν of Athens. Elsewhere (I, 1, 2) he informs us that the ἐπίνειον of Athens was at Phalerum before Themistocles became archon and that Themistocles transferred it to the Piraeus because of the superior natural advantages of that place. Consequently Phalerum was formerly the ἐπίνειον, but in the time of Pausanias a λιμήν of Athens. For the distinction between ἐπίνειον and λιμήν see Lehmann-Hartleben in *P.-W.* s.v. λιμήν.

[52] I, 107, 1.

[53] I, 108, 3.

[54] II, 13, 7.

[55] Plato, *Gorg.* 455E and schol. See Judeich, p. 144, n. 1 and p. 147.

[56] *Cambridge Ancient History* (V, Map 4, taken from Bury, *History of Greece*) labels the Phaleric Wall as the "South Wall" and the southern Long Wall, running to the Piraeus, as the "Middle Wall." This creates a false impression for the designation "South Wall" appeared first about 392 B.C. See Andoc. 3, 5 and 7 and Wilcken, p. 206. As long as the Phaleric Wall existed the southern Long Wall, running to the Piraeus, was called διὰ μέσου τεῖχος. After the destruc-

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that Pericles planned to use the διὰ μέσου τεῖχος only in case of necessity, for his original plan of defense in 431 provided no garrison for this wall.[57] This necessity actually did arise since the Phaleric Wall seems to have been abandoned and to have been in ruins before the end of the Peloponnesian War, for the Spartans, in the terms of peace, demanded the destruction only of the Long Walls (apparently those running to the Piraeus).[58]

The date of the abandonment of the Phaleric Wall can be inferred from Thucydides's account of the course of the war. First he describes the actual plan of compaign proposed by Pericles: withdrawal of the countrymen within the city and the defense of the Phaleric Wall, the Northern Long Wall, half of the wall of the Piraeus, and all the wall of Athens except the part between the Phaleric Wall and the northern Long Wall.[59] Next, he describes the congestion in Athens when the refugees began to arrive. We are informed that the Pelargicum, which was under a curse forbidding its occupation, was filled "under the sudden pressure of necessity." The refugees found quarters not only in the open spaces of the city but also in the turrets of the city walls, within the Long Walls, and in the Piraeus.[60] Again, he informs us that the great plague broke out in the Piraeus, having arrived there from a foreign source, and spread to Athens.[61] Finally, he informs us that the plague was greatly aggravated by the congestion within the city.[62] Because of this congestion and the occupation even of places under a curse, as well as sanctuaries, it is quite evident that there was, at that time, no protected territory outside of the city, the Piraeus, and the Long

tion of the Phaleric Wall it was called τὸ νότιον. See Judeich, p. 144, n. 1 and p. 147.

[57] Thuc. II, 13, 7.

[58] Xen. *Hell.* II, 2, 15; Lys. 13, 8; Plut. *Lys.* 14, 4; Diod. XII, 107 and XIV, 85.

[59] II, 13, 2–9.

[60] II, 17, 1–5.

[61] II, 48, 1–2.

[62] II, 52, 1–2.

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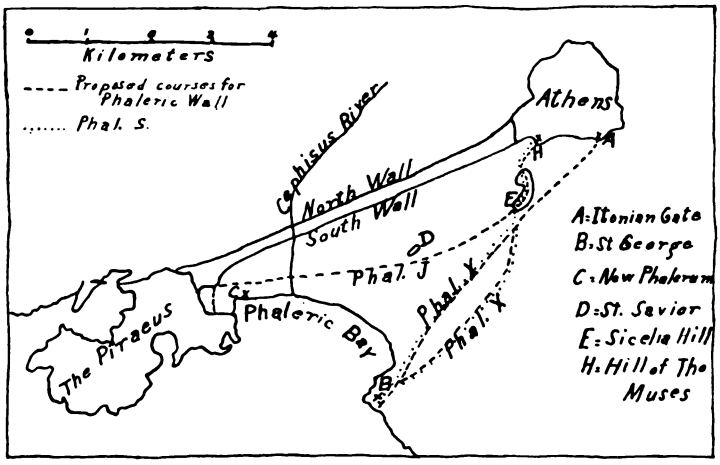
Walls. Certainly the large area between the Long Walls and the Phaleric Wall was not in use, for, if this had been the



case, there would have been no congestion. Thus Pericles's plan of campaign (as described by Thuc. II, 13, 2–9) must have been quite tentative and probably within a few days of its formulation a change of plan was made whereby the Phaleric Wall was abandoned.[63] Withdrawal within the Long Walls would decrease the number of troops necessary for defense, since the mobility of the men would be greatly enhanced by the comparatively short distance between the Long Walls.

[63] A view often held is that the Phaleric Wall was abandoned when the second wall to the Piraeus was built shortly after 445 B.C. See Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, p. 112; Lehmann-Hartleben, *op. cit.* p. 78; *Cambridge Ancient History*, V, p. 167. Judeich, p. 77 dates the abandonment almost at the end of the Peloponnesian War. Lolling, *Ath. Mitth.* XXI (1896), suggests the association of the oracle of Dodona (as reported by Paus. VIII, 11, 12, Dio Chrys. *Or.* 17, p. 469 ed. Reiske; cf. Suidas, *s.v.* 'Αννίβας and σικελίζειν) with the abandonment of the Phaleric Wall.

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X.—*The Discovery of the Wonder Child*

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In chapters 39 ff. of the *Historia Britonum*, which was compiled not later than the tenth century and which is ascribed to Nennius,[1] is told the story of King Vortigern and a wonder child named Ambrosius. Vortigern, king of the Britons, who has been driven from his throne, in order to protect himself against his enemies is advised by his Magi to depart into the distant limits of his kingdom and to build there a strong fortress. The structure is begun but, after the work of the day has been thrice destroyed utterly during the night, his counsellors advise him that the fortress will not stand unless the foundation-stones are wet with the blood of a fatherless boy: nisi infantem sine patre invenies et occidetur ille et arx a sanguine suo aspergatur, numquam aedificabitur in aeternum (40, p. 182). Messengers are sent out to find such a victim and happen to come upon some boys playing ball in a field (ad campum Elleti, 41, p. 182). Two of them begin to quarrel and one taunts the other because he has no father, O homo sine patre, bonum non habebis (42, p. 183). When the officers question the boy's mother, she confesses that there is truth in the taunt, since the child is not the son of any mortal man, but she denies all knowledge of the manner of his conception, nescio quo modo in utere meo conceptus est, sed unum scio quia virum non cognovi umquam (42, p. 183). The boy is

[1] Edited by Mommsen, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi*, XIII, pp. 113–219. For discussions of this work and bibliography, cf. W. W. Newell, "Doubts concerning the British History attributed to Nennius," *P.M.L.A.* XX (1905), 622 ff.; R. H. Fletcher, *The Arthurian Material of the Chronicles*, Boston: *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, X (1906), 8 ff.; H. Matter, *Englische Grundungssagen von Geoffrey of Monmouth bis zur Renaissance* (Heidelberg, 1922), pp. 150 ff.; J. D. Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance* (Baltimore, 1923), I, pp. 6 ff.

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then taken before the king and when, on the next day, he learns that he is to be put to death, he asks that the king's Magi be brought in. After they have confessed their ignorance of what is in the ground on which they had tried to build the fortress, and after he has explained to the king the meaning of certain symbols which will be found there, Vortigern asks him his name. "I am called Ambrosius," the boy replies, and later, to the king's next question about his lineage, "my father is one of the consuls of the Roman people," Ambrosius [2] vocor,—unus est pater de consulibus Romanicae gentis (42, p. 186).

This story, it has been pointed out,[3] has features which connect it with Talmudic versions of Solomon's capture of the demon Aschmedai (Asmodeus), who tells him how to get possession of a wonderful creature, ownership of which is necessary for the building of the temple of Jerusalem, and also with the wide-spread tale, oriental in origin, dealing with the foundation sacrifice.[4] In none of these oriental stories, however, have we the distinctive features which make the Ambrosius story of Nennius a dramatic whole—the group of boys at play, the quarrel between two of them, the taunt in the mouth of one that the other is the child of no ordinary marriage, and the confession from the mother, owing to this taunt, that no mortal man was the father of the child. If we

[2] Nennius found this name in the *de Excidio Britanniae* of Gildas (ed. Mommsen in the same volume with Nennius, pp. 25–85), where (chap. 25, p. 45), as Ambrosius Aurelianus, he is the son of a Roman consul, as he declares himself to be in Nennius, and is the leader of the Britons against the Saxons. King Vortigern is first mentioned by Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, I, 14 (ed. Giles, London, 1843), but neither he nor Gildas tells the story of the wonder child. For discussion of the matter contained in these pre-Nennian histories, cf. the references cited in the preceding note.

[3] Cf. Miss Paton, "The Story of Vortigern's Tower, an Analysis," *Radcliffe College Monographs*, No. 15 (1910), 14 ff.; Bruce, *Arthurian Romance*, I, pp. 132 ff.

[4] Cf. A. H. Krappe, "Note sur un épisode de l'*Historia Britonum* de Nennius," *Rev. Celtique*, XLI (1924), 181–188; and his later study, "The Foundation Sacrifice and the Child's Last Words," in his *Balor with the Evil Eye* (New York 1927), pp. 165–180.

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find all, or even the majority, of these details occurring in the same combination in other tales, we shall be justified, it seems to me, in claiming a connection between them. It may not be possible to single out any one tale in literature prior to Nennius, which he must have known, as his direct source, but we may be able to lay down a line of tradition, just as we are able to follow the traces of his story in the literature which came after him.

It received wide currency, in the first place, owing to its adoption by Geoffrey of Monmouth into his *Historia*[5] *Regum Britanniae*, VI, 19; cf. VII, 3). The introductory details are the same except that the boys are given the names, Dinabutius and Merlinus, qui et Ambrosius dicebatur (VI, 19; cf. VII, 3). Geoffrey is more explicit, also, as to the identity of the mother, whom he makes the daughter of the king of Dimetia and a nun in the church of St. Peter in that city, and he expands somewhat the reply of the mother to the questions concerning the identity of the boy's father. She maintains, as in Nennius, that she does not know who begot him but adds that, as she sat with her maidens in her chamber, a handsome young man appeared before her, took her in his arms and kissed her, and after a time departed suddenly. Later he came again and again while she was alone, holding converse with her but himself remaining invisible, until finally she became a mother; she knew nothing, however, about the man who had made her so.[6]

The *Historia* of Geoffrey furnished the matter for many narratives, written in Latin and in the vernaculars, in prose and verse, dealing with the early history of Britain, and the story of Merlin, as the wonder child is henceforth called, is generally included. Chief among these narratives is the *Geste*

[5] Ed. San Marte (Halle, 1854).

[6] For the differences in general between Nennius's version of the story of Vortigern and that of his predecessors on the one hand and of Geoffrey's on the other, cf. Fletcher, *op. cit.* pp. 162 ff.; Bruce, *op. cit.* I, pp. 134 ff.; Matter, *op. cit.* pp. 182–183; Brugger, *Zeit. f. französ. Sprache u. Lit.* XXX (1906), 210 ff.

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des Bretons, or *Brut*,[7] of the Norman poet Wace, in which the discovery of Merlin (vss. 7550 ff.) by means of the taunt on his base birth is told exactly as Geoffrey tells it. Wace's account is repeated without essential change by Layamon in his *Brut*,[8] vss. 15425–15991. The taunt does not occur, however, in the version of Merlin's birth contained in an interpolation in the Romance of Lancelot,[9] but it finds a place again in the *Merlin* of Robert de Boron, which survives only in a prose version,[10] although Robert's account of the miraculous conception of Merlin differs considerably from that given by Geoffrey and Wace, from whom directly or indirectly he drew his matter. He has introduced popular notions concerning the Anti-Christ who, it was believed, would be born from the union of a devil and a virgin, just as Christ had been born of God and a virgin mother.[11] The devils decide to bring the Anti-Christ into the world to be their instrument and one is chosen to become his father. The plan of the devils is not, however, entirely successful, for the child, although he is endowed with supernatural powers, does not inherit the wickedness of his father. At the time of his birth he was grisly to the sight, talked when he was a year old, and gave other evidences of his uncanny nature. The mother is accused of adultery, and when she and the child are brought before the

[7] Ed. Le Roux de Lincy (Rouen, 1836).

[8] Ed. Madden (London, 1847), II, 222 ff. For the relation of Layamon to Wace and of both to Geoffrey, cf. Matter, *op. cit.* pp. 230 ff.; Bruce, *op. cit.* I, p. 26 and the authorities cited by him in n. 47.

[9] Cf. Jonckbloet, *Lancelot*, II, xi ff. (Gravenhage, 1846–1849); the text is printed by Brugger, *Zeit. f. französ. Sprache u. Lit.* XXX (1906), 173 ff. Brugger suggests that this version derives from a Latin version of Geoffrey's *Historia* by Martin of Rochester, a version used, also, he thinks, by Robert de Boron; *ib.* p. 185; XLIV (1916), 13 ff. If this is so, the absence of the taunt motif from the *Lancelot* interpolator should be added to the differences which he notes exist between this version and that of Robert.

[10] *Huth-Merlin*, ed. G. Paris et J. Ulrich (Paris: Societé des Anciens Textes français, 1886). For the question of Robert's sources, cf. Paris, *op. cit.* I, x ff.; Brugger, *Zeit. f. französ. Sprache u. Lit.* XXIX (1906), 56 ff.; Bruce, *op. cit.* I, pp. 144 ff.

[11] Cf. Paris, *op. cit.* I, xiii.

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judges he confounds them by his wisdom and saves his mother. Then follows (pp. 38 ff.) the story of Vortigern and the wonder child in the telling of which Robert adds details which are not found in Geoffrey or Wace. The king's wise clerks, who are unable to explain the reason for the destruction of the tower, determine, since each has been warned in a dream that he will meet death at the hands of a fatherless boy seven years old, to tell the king that the foundation stones must be sprinkled with the blood of such a boy. The messengers who are sent out to find him come upon a large band of children playing in a field; one strikes the other with his staff and is taunted as "a misbegotten wretch and fatherless." The boy who is thus addressed then comes forward, discloses his identity as Merlin, and tells the messengers that he struck the other boy in order that they might discover him. Merlin is then led before the king and explains to him the purpose of the clerks and the reason for the fall of the tower.

From this prose version [12] of Robert's poem, which was enlarged by the addition of other matter dealing with King Arthur and the Round Table, are derived our English prose versions of Merlin.[13] In regard to the incident of the taunt they agree in all essentials with the version of Robert de Boron. On the other hand, in the Middle English poem, *Arthour and Merlin*,[14] the incident is given about as it is in Geoffrey. A band of boys is playing in the street and the identity of Merlin is disclosed by the taunt which one of them hurls at him: "foule schrewe, fram ous go: / thou art al biget-tem amis, / thou nost who thi fader is, / ac some deuel, as ich

[12] For the text of this prose version, cf. Paris, *Huth-Merlin*, I, pp. 1–146 (cited above); H. O. Sommer, *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances* (Washington, 1909), II. A convenient summary of the Vulgate Merlin is given by Bruce, *op. cit.* II, pp. 312 ff.

[13] Cf. W. E. Mead, *Outlines of the History of the Legend of Merlin:* Introduction to Part IV of the Middle English Prose *Merlin* (Early English Texts, London, 1899), lviii; clv ff.

[14] Ed. Kölbing, *Altengl. Bibl.* IV (Leipzig, 1890). In the introduction, pp. cvii ff., Kolbing discusses the relations of the various versions.

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wene / the bigat, ous euer to tene" (vss. 1204–1208). All the other details, however, are as in Robert.

There is another wonder child in medieval popular literature who should be placed by the side of Merlin,—the child who appears in the tale known as *Sapientes* which is told by the queen in the *Romance of the Seven Sages*. This tale has no place in the oriental versions of the romance but is found in practically all the western versions,[15] the oldest of which seems to have taken shape in France by the middle of the twelfth century. Although it differs much from the tale of Nennius concerning Ambrosius and makes no use of the taunt as a dramatic device, it contains elements which are strikingly similar:[16] a king who suffers from some peculiar influence, here affecting his body; his wise men who either cannot or will not solve his difficulty; the accidental meeting with a mother and her child who displays his wisdom and is then taken before the king; the discomfiture of the wise men; the prophecy of the child concerning strange objects in the ground which are the reason for the king's difficulty; the sentence of death which the king passes on the child; the rescue of the child.

It was evidently owing to this similarity that, when the wonder child of Nennius had, owing to the influence of Geoffrey, become known to the world as Merlin, this name was applied, in the later versions of *The Seven Sages*, to this other wonder child of the *Sapientes*.[17] Only in the English

[15] Cf. the table in J. Bedier, *Les Fabliaux*[2] (Paris, 1895), p. 136. For the relationship between the different versions, cf. K. Campbell, *The Seven Sages of Rome* (Boston, 1907), pp. xxi ff.

[16] Our earliest surviving versions are represented by the version published by Keller, *Romans des sept Sages* (Tübingen, 1836), and the *version dérimée*, printed by G. Paris, *Deux Redactions du Roman des Sept Sages* (Paris, Soc. Anc. Textes français, 1876). For the variations in the different redactions, cf. Campbell, *op. cit.* pp. c ff.

[17] So he is named in the *Scala Celi* of Jean Petit (cf. *Orient und Occident*, III, p. 397); in the version published by Leroux de Lincy (1838); in the lost French prose version from which are derived the Latin *Historia Septem Sapientum* (for the French translation of this, cf. Paris, *Deux Redactions*, etc. pp. 55 ff.), and the versions in the various European languages, English, Spanish, Catalan, Italian; cf. the introduction of Paris to the work cited and Campbell, *The Seven Sages*, pp. xxi ff.

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metrical versions of the *Romance*, as far as I can discover, is the identity of the wonder child disclosed as in Geoffrey's story of Merlin, from which, no doubt, the device is derived, by a taunt on his base birth. The king's messengers, in their search for some one to cure his malady, meet an old man who tells them that no one can help them except a child that is fatherless (vs. 2625). They finally come into a town in the street of which they see one boy beating another and calling him, "lurdan, devil's brother," "devil's son of blood," "a fatherless lurdan." The boy, when questioned by the wise men, says that his name is Merlin, shows his wisdom by interpreting the dream of a man who happens to come up, and is then taken before the king as in the other versions. In this version, therefore, the taunt leads to the discovery of the wonder child, but there is no mention of a supernatural father nor does the mother play any part.

There are two other medieval stories which, although they evidently belong to a different type of tale from those already considered, agree with the Ambrosius-Merlin story in that the hero is the son of a supernatural father and the taunt is used as a dramatic device leading to the disclosure by the mother of the secret of her son's parentage. In these stories, however, the son is a grown man when the taunt is uttered and it leads him and not others to question his mother concerning its meaning.

The earlier of the two stories is the anonymous French poem, the *Lay of Tydorel*,[18] dating not far from 1200. Here a queen, during the absence of her husband, is visited by a handsome youth who carries her away across a lake, tells her that she will bear him a son who will become great but must never be allowed to fall asleep.[19] He is kept awake by

[18] Cf. G. Paris, *Romania*, VIII (1879), 66 ff.; Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch* (3d ed., Stuttgart, 1905), pp. 389 ff.; Lommatzsch, *Guingamor u. Tydorel* (Romanische Texte zur Gebrauch f. Vorlesungen u. Übungen, VI (Berlin, 1922).

[19] A sleepless king to whom a *fabulator* tells stories occurs in the *Disciplina Clericalis* of Petrus Alfonsi, ed. Hilka-Söderhjelm (Sammlung Mittellateinischer Texte, Heidelberg, 1912), p. 17. Hertz, *op. cit.* pp. 392 f., reports a Buddhist

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having various persons visit him at night and tell him stories. When one evening a young goldsmith, who has been summoned to take his turn as story-teller, declares that he knows no tales, he is chidden by the king and replies tauntingly with the proverb,[20] that he who does not sleep is not a man. The king, realizing then that he is not as other men, seizes his sword, rushes into his mother's room, and threatens her with death unless she tells him whose son he is. She thereupon confesses to him her adventure with the strange and beauteous youth.

Very similar to *Tydorel*, as far as the introductory scene and the conclusion are concerned, is the English metrical romance, *Sir Gowther*,[21] dating from the fifteenth century, a version of the legend of Robert the Devil.[22] In this English version, the man who visits the childless duchess turns out to be a demon who has assumed the likeness of the Duke, and the rest of the story deals with the son, Sir Gowther, who was the fruit of the union. He is a monster of cruelty but is brought finally to a realization of his evil nature by a remark of an old earl who,

story to which *Tydorel* is closely related. Here the king asks his entertainer to tell him, since he is so wise, why he does not sleep. The man, upon promise of immunity, replies that he was born from a sinful union. The king then goes to his mother and demands an explanation, whereupon she tells him that during the absence of her husband she had lain with another man. According to an Arab tradition, Alexander the Great was the first to have stories told to him at night and these stories gave rise to *The Thousand and One Nights;* cf. Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman* (3d ed., Leipzig, 1914), p. 593. Rohde refers also to the statement of Suetonius, *Aug.* 78, that Augustus had the same custom. It may be noted that Augustus, like Tydorel, was said to have been the son of a supernatural being, *ib.* 94.

[20] Cf. Leroux de Lincy, *Le Livre des Proverbes français* (Paris, 1859), I, p. 167.

[21] Cf. K. Breul, *Sir Gowther, eine Englische Romanze aus dem XVten Jahrhundert* (Oppeln, 1886), who gives an exhaustive study of the legend of Robert the Devil. For the similarity between *Tydorel* and *Sir Gowther*, cf. Kittredge, "Sir Orpheo," *A.J.P.* VII (1886), 178 ff.; Miss Ravenel, "Tydorel and Sir Gowther," *P.M.L.A.* XX (1905), 152 ff.

[22] Cf. Breul, cited in the preceding note. For the French prose version and a reconstruction of the story, cf. Löseth, *Robert le Diable, Roman d'Aventure* (Soc. Anc. Textes français, Paris, 1903); for an Irish version and a good bibliography, cf. R. S. Crane, "An Irish Analogue of the Legend of Robert the Devil," *Romanic Rev.* V (1914), 55 ff.

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outraged by his deeds of violence, tells him that his subjects are convinced that one so cruel and inhuman cannot have been begotten by a mortal father. Sir Gowther goes at once to his mother's room and, pressing his sword to her breast, demands to know who his father was (vss. 199 ff.).

In all the other versions of Robert the Devil, Robert is not the son of a supernatural father but of human parents, and has been born to the mother after years of barrenness in answer to her prayer to the devil that, if he will grant her a child, she will devote it to him. In all the versions, also, with one exception,[23] occurs the interview between the son and his mother [24] from whom he learns the secret of his birth, but the motive for the interview is not, as in *Sir Gowther*, the remark of an outsider on the nature of his father, but his own conviction that he is entirely evil and his desire to learn the reason. It is evident, therefore, that the interview between the son and his mother formed an integral part of the original tale, whereas the motive for it, as found in Sir Gowther, was taken over from some other source.[25]

[23] This is the Irish version contained in the first part of the *Imram Hui Corra*, edited and translated by Stokes, *Rev. Celtique*, IX, 447 ff., X, 50 ff.; cf. Crane, *op. cit.* 61 ff. Here three brothers, who are born in consequence of an agreement made with the devil by the childless husband and wife, are led to their life of crime by a remark which reaches their ears that they had been baptized into the devil's possession. They decide, therefore, since the devil is their master, to do the devil's work. Their regeneration comes, not in consequence of an interview with their mother, but because of a vision of heaven and hell which is vouchsafed to one of them.

[24] There are differences in regard to details. Thus, in *Le Miracle de Nostre Dame de Robert le dyable*, contained in *Les Miracles de Notre-Dame*, ed. Paris-Robert (Soc. Anc. Textes français, Paris, 1876–81), VI, 1 ff., Robert goes to his mother with sword in hand (vss. 686 ff.), but begs her to tell him the truth about his birth; so in the English prose version in Ward, *Early English Prose Romances*, pp. 169 ff., and in the English poem, *Roberte the Deuyll*, ed. Herbert (1797), p. 6.

[25] Hence Löseth, *op. cit.* XX ff., includes the interview in his reconstruction of the old tale. According to Miss Ravenel, *op. cit.* 155, 158, the author of *Sir Gowther* drew his motive for the interview from *Tydorel*; there are, however, so many other possibilities that one cannot be sure. The Merlin story is a possible source, especially since the author of *Sir Gowther* twice refers to it, vss. 7 ff., 97 ff.

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We find a similar shift in motivation in some versions of the legend of *The Child Devoted to the Devil* where the introduction of the taunt as a dramatic device is clearly due, I think, to the influence of the Merlin story. This legend is very similar to *Robert the Devil* but it differs from it in the fact that, whereas Robert, until he changes his mode of life, is a real devil, driven by evil instincts to do wrong, in the legend the boy is never evil.[26] He is devoted to the devil before birth by his mother in a moment of anger because her husband breaks a vow which they had made never to have another child. In the earliest version of the legend which we have, a Latin version [27] used by Gautier de Coincy in his *Miracles de Sainte Vierge*, written about 1200, when the time comes for the devil to claim his prey the lad, noticing his mother's sorrow, asks her the cause and thus learns from her that he has been devoted to the devil. In two later versions, however, the motive for the child's questioning of his mother is a taunt that he is a pagan. In the earlier of these versions, a dramatic treatment of the miracles of the Virgin,[28] dating from the fourteenth century (vss. 660 ff.), the boy asks his parents whether there is truth in the word that is spoken about him, "on m'a juif nommé/et paien" (671 f.). In the second version, a French poem in quatrains,[29] dating from the fifteenth century, a companion calls the boy a Saracen and bids him leave him [30] since he has not been baptized, tells him that he is not a Christian, and that his mother has given him over to the devil. The boy then goes to his mother's chamber and begs her to tell him the truth about his birth, which she does.

[26] Cf. P. Meyer, "L'Enfant Voué au Diable," *Romania*, XXXIII (1904), 163 ff. Meyer thinks that the two stories are not connected.

[27] The Latin text was published by Mussafia in his paper on the sources of Gautier de Coincy, *Denkschr. d. Kaiserlichen Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, Phil.-Hist. Kl. XLIV (1896), 17 ff. The same version, with slight changes, is found in Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, VII, 115.

[28] Ed. Paris-Robert, *op. cit.* I, 1 ff.

[29] Ed. Meyer, *Romania*, XXXIII (1904), 163 ff.

[30] It is rather curious that this command occurs elsewhere only in the English *Arthour and Merlin*, cited above, p. 183, but it is such a natural addition that it can hardly be used as evidence for any relation between the two poems.

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Whatever may be the relation of these stories to each other, they have in common two important features: in all the father of the hero, when he is referred to at all, is a supernatural being, the mother a mortal woman, and in all the taunt is employed as a dramatic device to bring about the mother's confession. The fact that in one group of stories, *Tydorel, Robert the Devil, The Child Devoted to the Devil,* the confession is made to the son, whereas in the Ambrosius-Merlin group, to others, is due, as I think the evidence still to be discussed will show, to the importation into a new type of tale, the search for a wonder child, of the old device of the taunt. However this may be, the situation in all the stories is such that there is no reason for the mother's disclosure of her secret until suspicions of the 'normalcy' of her son's birth should lead some one to question her concerning it. It is conceivable that, since the child of a supernatural being was thought to show his origin by certain peculiarities, he might himself notice them, as in *Robert the Devil,* and thus be led to the interview with his mother. In none of the early variants, however, is this the case, and it is much more natural and more in keeping with popular narrative technique that others should notice his peculiarities, should ascribe them to unusual parentage, and taunt him on his birth, thus leading to his mother's confession. The taunt is, then, it would seem, a natural dramatic motive in the plot of the type of tale in which the father is a supernatural being.

The taunt is also found, however, in a few variants of a wide-spread type of tale (The Father and Son Combat theme) which, although similar in several details to the stories already considered, differs decidedly from them in the fact that the father is a mortal man who has had a union with a woman and then, either immediately or after a longer or shorter period, departs. The central theme of the tale is the search by the son for his father and the final success in his quest.[31]

[31] For an exhaustive study of the theme, cf. M. A. Potter, *Sohrab and Rustem* (London, 1902).

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There is an early medieval legend which may not be a true representative of this type, and is not, therefore, discussed by Potter, but which certainly, as far at least as the first part of it is concerned, is closely connected with it. This is the famous legend of Maelduin as told in *The Book of the Dun Cow*, compiled about 1100.[32] Here a chieftain named Ailill on one of his raids violates a nun, leaves her, and shortly thereafter is slain. When a son is born to the nun, she gives him to the queen, her patroness, who rears the child as her own. He grows up a handsome, proud boy, who defeats his fellows in all their games. On one occasion a certain warrior grew envious and said in anger, "Thou, whose clan and kindred no one knows, whose mother and father no one knows, to vanquish us in every game whether we contend with thee on land or on water, or on the draughtboard!" This taunt causes Maelduin, who till then had thought that he was the son of the king and of the queen his foster mother, to go to the queen to find out the truth. "I will not dine and I will not drink until thou tell me," said he, "my mother and my father." The queen tries to put him off but he insists on the truth and she finally "delivers him into his own mother's hand; and thereafter he entreated his mother to declare his father to him." When he learns the name of his father and the fact of his murder, he sets out to find the murderers; the rest of the story deals with his strange adventures on his travels.

There are about a dozen undoubted variants of the Father and Son Combat theme [33] in which occur these details common to Maelduin and, wholly or in part, to the stories already considered—the boys at play, the taunt on the base birth of one

[32] Edited and translated by Stokes, *Rev. Celtique*, IX (1888), 452 ff.

[33] The following are among the variants quoted by Potter, *op. cit.*, and I have not been able to increase the number although there are doubtless many more: three Maori tales which really reduce themselves to one (pp. 12–20); the Russian tale of *Jerusalem Lasarewitch* (p. 34); the thirteenth century tale of *Jan ut den Vergiere* (p. 53); the twelfth century German poem, *Biterolf und Dietleib* (p. 69); an episode in the *Tristan de Nanteuil* (p. 88); the legend of *Judas* (p. 92); the Spanish *Legenda de los Infantes de Lara* (p. 103); the Italian *Viaggio di Carlo Magno* (p. 104).

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of them leading to his interview with his mother, the confession of the mother to him. These versions are all later than this story of Maelduin, later, too, than the more important versions which do not contain these features, such, for example, as Sohrab and Rustem in the *Shah Nameh*, Hildebrand and Hadubrand in the *Hildebrandslied*, Conlaoch and Cuchulainn in the *Aidead Ainfir Aife*, the lays of *Milun*, *Doon*, etc., and most of them are mere literary reworkings of these earlier versions, having, therefore, no independent evidential value.

In by far the larger number of the variants on this theme, the husband upon his departure generally leaves a recognition token which the son is to carry with him as soon as he is old enough to set forth in search of his father, or else the mother voluntarily tells him the story of his birth when she sends him forth. Since, therefore, the motive for the mother's disclosure to her child is, directly or indirectly, the father's own command, there would seem to have been no need for the taunt in the mouth of a playmate to arouse the lad's suspicions concerning his birth. This trait is, however, in entire keeping with the child's descent from a supernatural father and was probably taken over, therefore, from the type of tale which has this feature into the type in which the father is a mortal man.

An interesting example of some such borrowing of the taunt motif along with the setting in which we have already found it is furnished by the different versions of the parentage and boyhood of Siegfried (Sigurd). In the *Nibelungenlied*,[34] Siegfried is the son of king Siegmund and queen Siegelind and, aside from his beauty and exceptional prowess, is no different from any prince. Other versions, however, have preserved or incorporated features which are common to several widespread groups of tales, represented, for example, by that of Cyrus, as told by Herodotus, I, 108 ff.,[35] by the

[34] Ed. von der Hagen (Breslau, 1820), vss. 78 ff.

[35] Cf. A. Bauer, "Die Kyros-Sage und Verwandtes," *Sitz. d. Wien. Akad.*, Phil.-hist. Kl. c (1882), 495 ff.

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Irish story of Balor,[36] by such medieval romances as *Sir Eglamour of Artois* or *Sir Triamour* and other variants of the Crescentia-Sebilla theme.[37] Thus in the Thidrekssaga [38] Sigmund, inspired by a false accusation against his wife, Sisibe, exposes her, with her unborn child, in a forest. She dies soon after the birth of the child, who is suckled by a hind and is later found by a dwarf smith, Mimi, who brings him up. The boy at twelve years old is so big and strong that he mistreats his comrades and Mimi tries to get rid of him. The result, however, is his journey to free Brynhild, who tells him his name and lineage. Sigurd is a posthumous son in the Volungssaga,[39] also, but here there is no hint of a persecuted wife. He is born after his mother has arrived in Denmark, is named by her Sigurd, grows up to be a strong, handsome, and well-beloved lad, and in due time sets out (cf. Maelduin, above, p. 190) to avenge the slaying of his father. Much closer to the version in the Thidrekssaga is that in the *Lied vom hürnen Seifrid*.[40] Seifrid is the son of Sigmund by a wife whose name is not given. The boy is so strong and big and unruly that he makes himself a nuisance to all and his father willingly allows him to go forth in search of adventure. He takes service with a smith but his strength makes him an unsatisfactory helper, as in the other version, and he is sent forth. He finally meets a dwarf who, at his request, tells him the name of his father and his mother.

[36] Cf. Krappe, *Balor with the Evil Eye*, pp. 10 ff.

[37] Cf. Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (Boston, 1896), II, pp. 40 ff.; Wells, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English* (New Haven, 1916), pp. 112 ff.; 781 ff.; Hibbard, *Mediaeval Romance in England* (New York, 1924), pp. 12 ff.; 283 ff.; for the themes in popular tales, cf. Bolte-Polivka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* (Leipzig, 1913), I, pp. 295 ff.; 528 ff.

[38] In *Thule, Altnordische Dichtung u. Prosa*, hrsg. Niedner; *Die Geschichte Thidreks von Bern* (Jena, 1924), pp. 215 ff.; for analysis and comparison with other versions, cf. Panzer, *Studien zur Germanischen Sagengeschichte* (München, 1912), II, pp. 35 ff.

[39] Cf. Panzer, *op. cit.* pp. 77 ff.

[40] Von der Hagen, *Deutsches Heldenbuch* (Berlin, 1825), II; cf. Panzer, *op. cit.* p. 13.

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In none of these versions of the Sigurd story in which the boy's parentage is in doubt is the motive which leads to the disclosure of the truth a taunt on his base birth, nor is the taunt a motive in any of the variants, literary or popular, of the themes with which it may be connected. The taunt, however, and the scene of the boys at play do occur in a version of Sigurd's birth and youth found among the songs of the Faroe Islands.[41] Here, as in the Volungssaga, the dying father of Sigurd has given to his wife the fragments of his broken sword, which will serve to incite his son, still to be born, to avenge his death. Whereas in the Volungssaga, however, the youthful Sigurd, when Regin is unable to make him a sword for use in his fight with the dragon, suddenly remembers his father's sword and asks his mother for it, in the song he is led to question his mother concerning his father's history by a taunt of a boy whom he has defeated in a contest of arms: "You would do better to question the name of your father."

The emphasis in the *Lied* and Thidrekssaga upon the bodily strength and ruffianly behavior of the hero as well as other features of the story, the slaying of the dragon and the rescue of the maiden, have been connected with a wide-spread märchen type known as "The Bear's Son" (Bärensohn, Fils d'ours),[42] the central theme of which is the visit of the hero to the abode of some creature or other, his rescue of emprisoned maidens, and his escape. In a large group of variants there is an introductory portion in which are described the abnormal birth of

[41] The complete collection of these songs, edited by Grundtvig u. Block under the title, *Corpus carminum faeroensium*, is in Copenhagen and is still unprinted. This song, however, is contained among those published by V. U. Hammershaimb, *Færøiske Kvaeder* (Copenhagen, 1851), I, str. 37–48. Its relation to the other versions of the story is studied by H. De Boor, *Die Färöischen Lieder der Nibelungenzyklus* (Heidelberg, 1918), pp. 17–56, esp. pp. 49, 55. This particular episode of the boys at play occurs elsewhere in Scandinavian literature and is discussed by A. Olrik, "*Drengene paa Legevolden*," Danske Studier, 1906, 91 ff.

[42] Cf. Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (Leipzig, 1856), Nos. 91, 116; Aarne, *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen* (FF Communications No. 3: Helsinki, 1910), No. 301 B; Panzer, *Studien zur germanischen Sagengeschichte*, I, 3 ff.

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the hero, generally from the union of an animal with his mother, more rarely of his father with an animal, his childhood, his feats of strength, his animal behavior, his return with his mother to the human father. Obviously a motive is necessary to start him out on his journey to his father and this motive is generally supplied by his question to his mother who his father is, but—this is the important fact to be noted in connection with our theme—in no case, even though the boy's associations with his fellows are often described,[43] is he led to ask this question because of a taunt by another boy. It is, however, very significant, in view of what will be said below, that in one variant only out of a large number, a modern Greek tale,[44] belonging to a type closely allied to The Bear's Son, that of "Strong Hans" (Der starken Hans),[45] the taunt on base birth does occur. Here a priest and his wife go out into a forest to gather wood; the wife wanders away from her husband, and during her absence he is overcome by a female bear who compels him to lie with her. She returns to her lair and brings forth a human child. Since the bear's cubs recognize the difference between their new brother and themselves, they call him a bastard, whereupon he goes to the mother bear and asks her who his father was. She replies, "The axe," referring to the one the father had left behind him, and tells him how, by means of this, he may find his father, which he finally succeeds in doing.[46]

It is very evident that, even if the Sigurd story has, as Panzer maintains, grown out of the märchen of The Bear's Son, the taunt did not get into the version of the Faroe islanders from any variant of this popular tale, since no version has it, nor from the Greek variant of Strong Hans, which alone does have it, but was due to a combination of a

[43] Cf. Panzer, *op. cit.* p. 34 for references.

[44] Cf. J. G. v. Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen* (Leipzig, 1864), II, 72, No. 75; Panzer, *op. cit.* pp. 48–49.

[45] Grimm, *op. cit.* No. 90; Aarne, *op. cit.* No. 650; Panzer, *op. cit.* pp. 44 ff.

[46] The strength and cruelty of Hans are, of course, prominent; cf. the variants cited by Panzer, *op. cit.* pp. 53–54.

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version of the Sigurd story with some such introductory formula as the one we have been considering, perhaps one of the type of the Maelduin story.

There is a combination of a different sort, that of the themes of the supernatural and the mortal father with the background, perhaps, of the Father and Son Combat theme,[47] in a tale in the *Arabian Nights*.[48] This tale deals with the adventures of Benreddin Hassan and his beautiful cousin between whom, before their birth, their fathers had sworn betrothal. The future father of Benreddin, after a quarrel with his brother, had gone secretly away into another country, had married the daughter of the Vizier, and risen to high station. The brother, who had remained in Cairo, had become Vizier, had taken a wife, and had become the father of a girl so beautiful that the Sultan desired her for his wife. Her father refused on the plea of his promise to his brother and the Sultan in anger ordered the maiden to be married to the ugliest man in the kingdom, a hunchbacked groom. Benreddin Hassan, whose father was now dead, had fallen under the displeasure of his Sultan and had been forced to flee from home. He was seen, as he slept upon his father's grave, by two Jinni, who, struck by his marvellous beauty, carried him to Cairo and substituted him for the hunchback as the bridegroom of the Vizier's daughter. Then, while Benreddin and his bride are asleep, the Jinni carry Benreddin off again. In the morning the Vizier meets his daughter and when he hears from her that a handsome youth and not the hunchback is her husband, he upbraids her as a wanton, but the daughter convinces him of the truth of her words by showing him Benreddin's turban and purse which had been left behind. In them the Vizier found a written record of Benreddin's parentage and of his brother's history and knew then that the marriage of the cousins had, by Allah's will, been consummated. But Ben-

[47] So Potter, *Sohrab and Rustem*, pp. 36 ff., although the feature of the combat has certainly been reduced to the minimum.

[48] Payne's translation (London, 1901), I, pp. 204 ff.

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reddin appeared no more. In due time a son, Agib, was born to Benreddin's wife. After seven years he had grown into a handsome and a haughty lad and, believing himself to be the son of the Vizier, was wont to bully and beat the other lads. They complained to his teacher and he suggested to them that, if they play a game in which none may take part except he tell the name of his father and mother, Agib will leave school and never be seen again. The children began the game and when Agib's turn came to tell the name of his father and mother, he said that his mother was "The Lady of Beauty" and his father, Shemseddin, Vizier of Egypt. At this the other boys all laughed at him and cried out, "He does not know his father. Arise and go out from us,[49] for none shall play with us except he know his father's name." Agib was then informed by the monitor that the Vizier was his grandfather, not his father, that he had no father but had been begotten by a Jinn. When Agib heard this he ran at once to his mother, crying bitterly. When she asked him what the trouble was, he told her what the children and the monitor had said, and then inquired of her, "Who is my father?" (Cf. above, p. 187.) "Thy father is the Vizier of Egypt," answered she, but he said, "Do not lie to me. The Vizier is thy father, not mine. Who then is my father? Except thou tell me the truth, I will kill myself with this dagger." The mother then recited some verses in which the truth is implicit, joins her wailing to her son's and the noise brings the Vizier to the scene. When he hears of Agib's experience, he determines to set out in search of his nephew whom, of course, he finds and all ends happily.

The similarity, even to the use of words, between this story of Agib and his school-fellows and that of the Ambrosius-Merlin and Tydorel group is too close, it seems to me, to be due to mere chance. There can certainly be no direct connec-

[49] It will be recalled that this is the same command which the boys use in the French poem on *The Child Devoted to the Devil* and in the English *Arthour and Merlin*, cf. above, pp. 183, 188.

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tion, however, since the *Nights*, as we have them, took shape long after the *Historia Britonum*, in which occurs the earliest use of the taunt on base birth in connection with Ambrosius. Back of all the stories, of course, may lie an oriental tale which may have early been made accessible, as other such matter certainly was, to western story-tellers. There seems to be, however, no early oriental story dealing either with the Supernatural Father or the Father-Son Combat themes [50] in which the taunt is used, as in the above stories, as a dramatic device leading to the disclosure of the boy's parentage, although the taunt itself, with the setting of the boys at play, does occur.[51]

In pre-Christian Greek and Latin literature, on the other hand, we find the taunt as a dramatic motive in stories in which the hero is the son of a supernatural father and, in one case at least, in which he is the son of a mortal. In none of them, however, is the setting that of the Ambrosius story and other stories of the wonder child type, whereas, in the one story in which we have that setting, the story of Cyrus,[52] there is no supernatural father and no taunt.

[50] Cf. above, p. 190. Worthy of note is the absence of the taunt from the story of Karna in the *Mahabharata*, in which, although Karna is the son of a supernatural father, many details, the exposure of the child in a wicker boat, his rearing by foster parents of low degree, his exceptional qualities, agree with those in stories of the Cyrus-Sigurd type. Here the boy learns of his parentage from his mother, who wishes to prevent him from warring with his brothers; cf. J. C. Oman, *The Great Indian Epics* (London, 1894), pp. 101, 153.

[51] Professor M. Bloomfield, in a note in *A.J.P.* XLIV (1923), had promised a treatment of the use of the taunt in Hindu literature. He cited *Panchatantra, Southern Textus Amplior*, III, 3 (cf. Hertel, *Z.D.M.G.* XLI, 61), where schoolboys taunt a fellow-student, who has lately come among them, as "son of a robber," which, indeed, he really was; *Mahabharata*, I, 40, where the son of a *rishi*, saint or ascetic, is taunted by a companion because his father had endured a bitter insult in calmness; *Chandogya Upanishad*, IV, 4, which is a story of bastardy but there is no taunting. I am indebted to my friend, Professor Franklin Edgerton, of Yale University, for the matter in these references.

[52] Cf. the reference cited above, p. 191. Here king Astyages dreams that his daughter Mandane will bear a vine which will overshadow all Asia. He gives orders to have the boy slain, but his orders are not carried out and the child is brought up by shepherds as their son. One day, when he has reached the age of ten years, he is playing a game with his comrades in a road; he is chosen their king and deals harshly with the son of one of the leading men of

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The earliest story in which both these details occur is also found in Herodotus, VI, 61 ff., in the telling of which Herodotus or his source has evidently wrought changes which obscure the real nature of the taunt. Ariston, a king of Sparta, even though he has had two wives, has had no children. He becomes enamoured of the wife of his friend, takes her from him, and marries her. When a son is born, before the fulfillment of the usual time, Ariston denies in the presence of attendants that it is his. He rears it, however, as his own, and the child is given the name Demaratus because he had been granted in answer to the prayers of the people. Upon the death of Ariston, Demaratus becomes king, but he is later driven from the throne by Leotychides on the charge, which is supported by Ariston's own words and by a response from the Pythian oracle, that he was not Ariston's son and, therefore, not the rightful king. Then at a public festival, in which bands of youths played the chief part, Demaratus was chosen to lead the procession, and Leotychides, now king in his stead, wishing to taunt him, sent an attendant to ask him how it felt to be an officer after being a king. Demaratus, covering his head in shame, immediately withdraws from the theatre, goes to his home, where he prepares a sacrifice to Zeus, and bids his mother be summoned. On her arrival he places the sacred utensils in her hands and begs her to tell him on oath the truth, who was his father. For Leotychides, he says, had declared that she had not borne him to Ariston but to her former husband, and others had spoken even a more idle word, that he was the son of a common mule-keeper. His mother then tells him the story of his birth, how on the second night after her marriage with Ariston, there had come to her a

the neighborhood. The boy complains to his father, who in turn goes to the king. He has Cyrus and his foster father brought before him, and is led, by the boy's lordly bearing and likeness to himself, to discover the truth. Herodotus has evidently combined two earlier stories and has rationalized, since originally the child, as in the version in Just. I, 4, was suckled by a bitch; cf. Aly, *Volksmärchen, Sage und Novelle bei Herodot und seinen Zeitgenossen* (Göttingen, 1921), pp. 48 ff.

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phantom (φάσμα) in the likeness of Ariston[53] and upon his departure had left his crowns behind.[54] Then when Ariston arrived and asked her to whom the crowns belonged, she had replied that they were his and that he himself had given them to her a short time before. Ariston, she says, had doubted her words at first but had finally believed her oath, had recognized that it was a god's doing, and had known the crowns for those of the hero Astrabakos, whose shrine was near the door.

It would be too large a task to attempt to untangle the threads of this elaborate story, but it is at once evident that the character of the taunt, as put into the mouth of Leotychides, is not in keeping with the action which results. Demaratus's words to his mother prove that the taunt was, as in *Tydorel* and the story of Agib, one on his uncertain birth, not on his change of station. Since, too, his dethronement was due to the charge that he was a bastard, the taunt must have been uttered then, or earlier, and the interview with his mother held then and not long afterward when he had ceased being king. There is the possibility, also, that the setting here, the pageant of young men (γυμνοπαιδίαι), may represent the typical crowd of boys at play of the more popular tale.

In view of the literary influence which Herodotus may have had upon the dramatist Sophocles,[55] it is not unlikely, I think, that the poet borrowed from this tale of the historian the device of the taunt as a dramatic motive which he introduces into his drama of *Oedipus Rex*, 780 ff. Oedipus is telling

[53] This feature occurs, naturally enough, in many of the tales dealing with the supernatural father; cf. the examples cited in my article, "Some Theories of Irish Literary Influence and the Lay of Yonec," *Romanic Rev.* x (1919), 138 ff.

[54] This reminds us of the detail in the story quoted above from *The Arabian Nights*, see p. 195. Similarly, in the story which Justinus, xv, 4, 2 ff., tells of the parentage of Seleucus, Apollo leaves a ring with the mother. Most often in medieval tales the child bears a birthmark or is differentiated from children of normal birth by his appearance or his character, as, for example, Merlin in Robert de Boron, above, p. 182.

[55] Cf. Bassett, *T.A.P.A.* LXII, 1911, xvi. In other versions (cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 33; Hyg. *Fab.* 67; Diod. Sic. IV, 64), Oedipus learns from an indefinite "some one" that he is not the son of Polybus.

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Jocasta the story of his life; he was the son of Polybus of Corinth and his wife Merope and had reached a high place in the esteem of his fellows. But one evening, at a banquet, a companion heated with wine had let fly the taunt that Oedipus was falsely called the son of Polybus. Stung by this speech, he had with difficulty restrained his anger, but on the morrow he had gone before his mother and father (cf. above, p. 188) and had told them what the youth had said. They had blamed the author of the taunt but, since the rumor had spread, he had not been satisfied and had gone to consult the oracle. It was the dark reply of the oracle which led Oedipus to fly from Corinth and thus brought to pass that which he had tried to escape from doing.

This drama of Sophocles is the earliest literary treatment of a popular theme of which there are many variants in later literature,[56] some of them, as the legend of Judas,[57] for example, being mere literary imitations of the Oedipus story. This story could not, however, have given the taunt to stories so completely different as those I have outlined, but it did give it, I think, again combined, as in Herodotus, with the *motif* of the supernatural father, to the version which Ovid, *Met.* I, 751 ff., makes of the Phaethon story, the only version[58] in which the taunt on base birth leads Phaethon to the interview with his mother. Phaethon, boasting of his birth as the son of Apollo, is taunted by his comrade Epaphus, son of Jupiter and a mortal maid, who calls him a fool for believing his mother's story of his parentage and for "being puffed up by descent from a sire not his own." Phaethon out of shame restrains his anger (cf. Oedipus, above), then he goes to his

[56] Cf. Laistner, *Das Rätsel der Sphinx* (Berlin, 1889), II, pp. 378; Höfer, in Roscher's *Lexicon*, III, i, 744–746; Potter, *Sohrab and Rustem*, pp. 91 ff.

[57] Cf. *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Graesse (2d ed., Leipzig, 1850), p. 184.

[58] In the lost play of Euripides which dealt with this theme, Clymene, the mother of Phaethon, moved by her son's refusal to marry a wife chosen for him by his supposed father, Merops, seeks an interview with Phaethon and tells him the secret of his birth; cf. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Hermes*, XVIII (1883), 396 ff.

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mother, and tells her of the taunts of Epaphus (*convicia*), and begs her, with his arms about her neck,[59] to give him assurance of his birth from the sun god.

Although these stories are sufficient to show, especially when we remember the multitude of Greek and Latin tales dealing with the Supernatural Father, that there were current in Europe at a very early date popular tales containing many of the chief features of the Ambrosius-Merlin story, and although Ovid was so well known to every medieval clerk that he might well have suggested the taunt as a device suitable for use in the elaboration of any of the familiar popular themes in which the hero's father was not known, still there is nothing here to suggest the setting,—the search for the wonder child and the group of children at their play.

The suggestion for these features could have come, however, even if there were no popular tale to supply them, from another type of literature, just as well known as Ovid, the Apocryphal Gospels, with their stories of the Christ child, especially the *Gospel of Ps.-Matthew* and the Latin version of the *Gospel of Thomas*.[60] In them we have, as also in *Matth.* 2, 1 ff., a king who hears from "magi," just as the king in Nennius hears from "magi," [61] of the existence of a wonderful child and sends forth messengers to find him (*Ps.-Matth.* chap. 16; *Thom.* II, 1); in them we have the virgin mother who declares, just as the mother in Nennius, that she has known no man [62]

[59] So in some of the versions of *Robert the Devil;* cf. above, p. 187.

[60] Ed. Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha* (2d ed., 1874). For their relationship and general history, cf. Tischendorf's *Prolegomena;* Tasker, in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Extra Vol. (New York, 1904), pp. 420 ff.; Bauer, *Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neutestam. Apokryphen*, 1909, pp. 29 ff.; *Handbuch zu den neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*, hrsg. v. Edgar Henneke (Tübingen, 1904), pp. 95 ff.

[61] What has already been said is sufficient to refute the argument of F. Lot, *Romania*, XXVIII (1899), 338, that Nennius's magi are druids and that the story is Irish; "a legendary story of Vortigern has been disfigured by the interpolation of a tale of Irish origin."

[62] These Gospel stories may also have furnished the "handsome youth" who, in Geoffrey's version, visits the mother in her chamber; cf. the description of the angel who visits Mary in her room, *Ps.-Matth.* chap. 9. But this detail

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(*Ps.-Matth.* chap. 12); in them we have the group of boys at play and the quarrel between two of them (*Ps.-Matth.* 26), just as in Nennius; it is to be noted that in *Thom.* I, 8, the boys are playing a game in which Jesus, as Cyrus in the story of Herodotus, is made king; in them we have the superior strength and wisdom of the wonder child which are so marked a feature of the Merlin story, even the brutality which is lacking in Nennius but which is emphasized in the case of Sigurd and Robert the Devil and occurs in several variants of the Father-Son Combat theme;[63] the wisdom of Jesus is so remarkable that, when he is sent to school and displays it to the discomfiture of his teacher, the teacher cries out: "What womb bore him? or what mother brought him forth?—I do not know whether he be a wizard or a god" (*Ps.-Matth.* 31; *Thom.* II, 6), and his roughness is so pronounced that the parents of other boys complain to Joseph and Mary. The one respect in which these stories differ markedly from the story of Ambrosius-Merlin is the absence of the taunt on Jesus's birth. Here it is Jesus who does the taunting, calling the boy who angers him, "son of death," "son of Satan," and the like (*Ps.-Matth.* 26 ff.; *Thom.* II, 4). Nor is there any place for the interview between the child and his mother, as in some of the stories considered above, since Jesus knows better than any one else the secret of his birth.

It is evident, therefore, that the material furnished by these stories of the Christ child and by Ovid's story of Phaethon accounts for all the essential features which are found in the medieval stories of the wonder child and the taunt on his base birth, leading to the disclosure by his mother of her secret.

could just as well have come from Ovid; cf. his description of the visit of Mercury to Herse, *Met.* ii, 708 ff. For these and other examples, cf. my article cited above, p. 199.

[63] Cf. Potter, *Sohrab and Rustem*, pp. 34–35; 71; he calls attention, p. 36, n. 2, to the similarities between these and the stories of Christ's childhood in the Apocryphal Gospels. This roughness of the hero is frequently emphasized in popular tales dealing with an exposed child; cf. Panzer, *Stud. zur germ. Sagengesch.* I, pp. 29 ff.; II, pp. 42 ff.

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Whether all these elements had been combined into a single tale before the time of Nennius, a tale of which he made Ambrosius the hero, and which the author of *Sapientes* utilized for his wonder child, and from which the story of Agib in the *Arabian Nights* might have been derived, it is impossible to say. It seems more likely that, since these Apocryphal Gospels were universally popular during the Middle Ages,[64] individual story-tellers borrowed now one, now another detail which they fitted into various popular tales everywhere at hand. Hence, just as the story of Tydorel reached its present form mainly as a result of the combination of the garden scene, borrowed from the apocryphal story of Anna and Joachim,[65] and the theme of the sleepless king (cf. above, p. 185), so may the story of Ambrosius have been formed, perhaps by a process of slow growth, by a fusion of some variant of the popular tale of the search for a child, whose blood is necessary for the welfare of a king,[66] with elements drawn from the stories of the Christ child. The absence in Nennius of all reference to the father of the child,—a feature common also to the *Sapientes*—the mother's insistence upon her character as a virgin, the miraculous wisdom of the child, these elements certainly we may ascribe to the influence of the story of the Christ child or, perhaps, to some early popular tale on which this, too, was based. The taunt, as employed by Nennius, may also have been suggested to him by the Apocryphal story, but in those tales in which the taunt leads to the interview

[64] Cf. Paris, *La Litterature française au Moyen Age*, 5th ed., sec. 141; Meyer *Romania*, xxxv (1906), 337 ff.; so the *Ps.-Matth.* was used by Hrotsvita in her version of the Mary story, cf. Strecker, *N. Jahrb.* xi (1903), 576 ff.; by Wace, in his *L'Établissement de la Conception Nôtre-Dame*, and by the author of the *Cursor Mundi*, ii, 10123 ff.; cf. Haenisch, in Morris's ed. of the *Cursor*, Early English Texts, pp. 13 ff., 31 ff. For the use of it by later writers, among them Jacobus a Voragine and Vincent de Beauvais, cf. Tasker in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, n. 60 above.

[65] *Ps.-Matth.* 1 ff.; cf. my article, "The Orchard Scene in Tydorel and Sir Gowther," *Rom. Rev.* xiii (1922), 37 ff.; Hibbard, *Mediaeval Romance in England*, p. 54.

[66] Cf. Krappe, *Balor with the Evil Eye*, pp. 165 ff., and the literature cited in his note on p. 165.

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between the child and his mother, we may recognize the influence of Ovid's tale of Phaethon, or we may suppose that an early popular tale, of which, possibly, the modern Greek tale cited above may be a faded echo and of which Herodotus made Demaratus the hero, passed into eastern literature to give rise to some version of the theme of The Supernatural Father which served alike as common source to western writers and to the author of the story of Agib in the *Arabian Nights*. For this maze, however, we need a guide more skillful than the present writer.

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XI.—*The Names of the Jews of Ancient Rome*

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Our chief sources of information about the life of the Jewish community of ancient Rome are the six Jewish catacombs which have been found at Rome in the past seventy years and some five hundred inscriptions from these catacombs.[1] The present paper is the result of an examination of the proper names which are found in these inscriptions.

The inscriptions reveal the names of 517 individuals. I have classified these first according to language. In an earlier paper I pointed out that the Jews of Rome were a Greek-speaking community, since three-fourths of the inscriptions are in Greek, only one-fourth in Latin, and a negligible few in Hebrew or Aramaic.[2] It is accordingly interesting to discover that the majority of their names are neither Greek nor Hebrew, but Latin, an indication that the partly Hellenized Jews had, in the city of Rome at least, become Romanized in the names which they bore rather than in the language which they spoke.

The names are to be classified as Latin, Greek, and Semitic, or, in the case of certain double and triple names, as combinations of Latin and Greek or Latin and Semitic. A complete list of the names follows.[3] The most frequently cited collec-

[1] For a convenient list of these catacombs and a partial bibliography for catacombs and inscriptions, see George La Piana in *Harvard Theological Rev.* XX (1927), 363, n. 37 and 351, n. 21.

[2] *T.A.P.A.* LVIII (1927), 210 f.

[3] I have excluded inscriptions which are not both Jewish and Roman; such, for example, as VR 4, 141, 151, 168, 170, 173, 186, 187, *C.I.G.* 9911, *C.I.L.* VI, 9821, and the apparently pagan inscriptions which were found in the Jewish catacombs, as VR 63, 71, MB 4, 43, 100, 101, 103, 104, 105. All inscriptions which were found in the Jewish catacombs and do not bear pagan indications are counted as Jewish. I have included names from some inscriptions which I copied at Rome, but which, so far as I can find, have not yet been published.

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tions of inscriptions are referred to with these abbreviations:

VR = H. Vogelstein and P. Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, Leipzig, 1895–6. The numbers refer to the collection of inscriptions in Vol. I, pp. 459–483.

MB = N. Müller and N. Bees, *Die Inschriften der jüdischen Katakombe am Monteverde zu Rom*, Leipzig, 1919. The numbers refer to the inscriptions.

NS = *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*. The reference includes the year, the page, and, usually, the number of the inscription.

ILC = E. Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*. The Jewish inscriptions are in Vol. II, Appendix (Berlin, 1927), and are comprised within the numbers 4851–5000.

A. Latin Names (237 Examples)

1. Single Names (188)

Abundantius VR 138
Aellia VR 139
[A]ἰλιανός[4] VR 62
Ἀγριππεῖνος MB 51
Αἰούτωρ NS 1920.148.19
Ἀμαβίλιος MB 129
Ἄννια MB 40
Ἀννιανός VR 11, MB 131, [Ἀν ?]νιανός NS 1920.149.30
Ἄννις (= *Annius*) MB 25, Ἄνεις NS 1920.151.42
Antonina VR 153
Ἄπερ MB 107
Ἀκυλεινα (= *Aquilina*) MB 85
Aurelius *in an unpublished inscription from the catacomb of Via Appia*
Καῖλις (= *Caelius*) NS 1919.65.10
Castricius VR 154, Καστρίκις VR 50
Castus VR 160
Κεντουλια (= *Centullia*)[5] VR 87
Κλαύδιος NS 1920.151.43, Κλώδιος VR 46[6]
Cocotia VR 138

The several inscriptions which were found at Porto have been included, since this community seems to have been closely associated with that of Rome. An extensive, but incomplete, list of Latin names borne by Jews in the Roman Empire is given by J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'empire romain*, II (Paris, 1914), pp. 222–234. Cf. Juster's bibliography, *ibid*: p. 221, n. 1 and the important study by Leopold Zunz, *Namen der Juden* in his *Gesammelte Schriften*, II (Leipzig, 1837), pp. 1–82.

[4] VR, following Garrucci, read ΑΙΛΙΑΝΟΣ, but the first A is not visible on the stone.

[5] Not for *Quintilia*, as VR. Latin *qui-* is rendered by κουι (Κουιντιάνη VR 84), κνει (Κνεῖντος NS 1892, 345), and even by κου (Κούντου VR 46) and κυ (Κυντιανός VR 85), but not by κε. See also Th. Eckinger, *Orthogr. Lat. Wörter in Griech. Inschr.* (Munich, 1892), pp. 122 ff. Nor is there, at least in this group of inscriptions, any instance of Latin *i* represented by Greek ου. On the other hand, the name *Centullius* is found in *C.I.L.* VI, 31564 and is listed in Schulze, *Zur Gesch. Lat. Eigennamen*, p. 149.

[6] VR's reading ΚΛΑΤΔΙΟΥ in line 3 is incorrect.

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Κωνσταντ[. .] [7] VR 23, Κωστάντις VR 13
Κοσσούτιος VR 24
[Κρ]εσκεντινα VR 122, [Κ]ρησκεντινα NS 1920.149.30, Κρηκεντεινα VR 17
Κρισπινα VR 45, Κρισπεινα VR 25 (*both of the same woman*)
Δαμνατα MB 13 (*Latin inscription in Greek characters*)
Δατῖβος (= *Dativus*) VR 35
Decenber VR 156
Διγίτης (= *Digitius?*) [8] NS 1920.148.13
Δόμνος NS 1920.148.18
Δωνᾶτος MB 111
Δουλκιτια VR 69, Δουλ[κι]τια VR 29
Φαυστινα VR 33, Φαυ[στι]να MB 81
Φαυστῖνος VR 34
Φηλικισσιμα [9] MB 92, Φιλικεισιμα MB 65
Felicitas MB 77
Felicia[nus?] *in an unpublished inscription from the catacomb of Via Appia*
[F]elix MB 146
Φλαβια MB 129, NS 1904.297
Flora NS 1920.152.46
Fortunatianus VR 166
Φορτουνᾶτος MB 5
Φοστῖνος [10] NS 1920.150.40
Γαΐους VR 95 (*Lat. inscr. in Greek characters*), Γάις VR 19, *and in an unpub. inscr. from the catac. of Via Appia*, Caius VR 153
Γαυδεντια MB 35, Γαυδεν[τ]ια NS 1919.66.12
Gaudentius *in a Jewish inscr. at S. Maria in Trastevere*,[11] [Γα]υδέντις MB 108
Γημηλλίνη VR 39
Germanus VR 180
Ὀνωρᾶτος VR 41, 42, 57, Ὀνορᾶτος VR 80 (*the last three are of the same man*)
Inpendius MB 94
Iobinu (= *Iovinus*) ILC 4948
Iulia VR 154, 167, Ἰουλια VR 50, Ἰιουλια MB 121
Ἰουλιανός VR 11, 52 (*bis*), MB 30, 83 [12], 117
Ἰούλειος [13] MB 107
Iusta VR 166

[7] VR, following *C.I.G.*, read ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟ | Σ. I have followed what appears to be the more accurate reading, as recorded, among others, by Gaetano Marini in Codex Vaticanus Latinus 9074, fol. 939.6 and by Gaetano Migliore in Cod. Vat. Lat. 9143, fol. 121.

[8] Paribeni, *l.c.*, combining ΑΙΔΙΓΙΤΗΣ, conjectures ὁδηγητής; but it seems better to combine AI with KI of the preceding line as κῖ[τ]αι and to take ΔΙΓΙΤΗΣ as the name of the deceased. On κῖται for κεῖται see *T.A.P.A.* LVIII (1927), 222; on η for ι, *ibid.* 214; for -ις = -ιος = -*ius*, cf. from the list above such forms as Ἄννις, Καῖλις, Καστρίκις, etc.; for many examples of the name itself, see Index I of *C.I.L.* VI.

[9] The stone has ΦΗΑΙΚΙΣΣΙΜΑ. The stonecutters frequently confused A and Λ.

[10] Paribeni, *l.c.*, reads ΦΟ . . ΙΝΟΥ, but the inscription actually shows the full name.

[11] That the inscription is Jewish is revealed by the representation of the *shofar* (the ritual trumpet). There is also the figure of a bird, which appears frequently on the Jewish inscriptions (cf. facsimiles in MB 47, 58), particularly in those from the catacomb of Via Appia (of which few facsimiles have been published).

[12] The stone correctly reads ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΣ, despite MB.

[13] The stone reads ΙΟΥΛΕΙΟ | Σ, not ΙΟΥΛΕΙΟ . . . ΟΣ, as in MB, where a shadow in the photograph has been mistaken for the trace of an O. For the confusion of A and Λ see above, n. 9, and *T.A.P.A.* LVIII (1927), 211, n. 5.

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Iustus VR 156, 177, *and in an unpub. inscr. from catac. of Via Appia*, Iust[..] MB 60, Ἰοῦστος VR 6, 53, 54[14], MB 18, 133, NS 1920.146.2
Leo MB 144
Λουκιλλα VR 56
Λουκινα VR 15
Lucinus VR 171
Λούκιος VR 91
Maeviu[.] *Nuov. Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1915.48.111
Mannacius VR 155
Mannus VR 174
Marcar[..?][15] *Nuov. Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1915, p. 154
Μαρκελλα VR 59, Μαρκελλ[α] VR 60 (*Lat. inscr. in Greek characters*), Μαρκελα A. Berliner, *Gesch. Juden in Rom.* I, p. 91
Μάρκελλος VR 61, Μαρκελλους VR 60 (*Lat. inscr. in Greek characters*)
Marcia VR 175, Μαρκια VR 62, MB 112, J. Ficker, *Altchristliche Bildwerke im Chr. Mus. des Later.* p. 36, no. 86, [M]αρκεια NS 1920.147.11
Μαρινα MB 41
Μαρινους NS 1920.150.34
Maro VR 177, Μάρων VR 54
Μαρώνις (= *Maronius*) VR 68
Marosa? VR 178
Μαρυλλεινα NS 1904.297
Ματρωνα NS 1920.148.16
Maxima ILC 4861A
Maximina NS 1920.153.51
Μάξιμος MB 8, 112, Maximus MB 76
Νωμητωρα MB 181
Νῶτος VR 74
Nunnus MB 150
Ὀκλάτιος NS 1919.66.12
Ὡρστώριος?[16] MB 13 (*Lat. inscr. in Greek characters*)
Πετρωνια VR 80, Πετωνια VR 57 (*both of the same woman*)
Πετρώνιος VR 80
Πλώτις (= *Plotius*) NS 1920.153.49
Polla VR 167
Πωλλίττη *in an apparently unpub. inscr. from the catac. of Via Appia*[17]
Πομπώνις NS 1919.63.4
Πριμα MB 129
Πριμειτιβα VR 82
Πρισκιανός MB 34
Πρόβος VR 83
Προκα MB 22
Procla VR 139, Προκλα MB 52, 56
Προκλεινα MB 85
Πρόκλος NS 1919.63.5
Πρωκουλους MB 121
Πρόζεκτος (= *Proiectus?*)[18] *Nuov. Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1915.49.115
Κουιντιάνη VR 84
Κυντιανός (= *Quintianus*) VR 85
Κυιαινος (*for* Κυιρῖνος?) VR 86
Regina MB 145
Ρηγεινους VR 3 (*Lat. inscr. in Greek characters*)
Ρενᾶτος VR 88
Restituta VR 181
Ρουφῖνος VR 90
Ροῦφος VR 41, 42 (*both of the same man*)
Σαβεινα VR 96, Σαβειν[α] VR 97
Sabinus VR 160, Σαβεῖνος MB 109
Σάλβιος (= *Salvius*) VR 100
Salutia MB 31

[14] The stone reads ΙΟΤΣΙΟΣ. I for T is a common stonecutter's error.

[15] The inscription, if correctly transcribed (it is now lost), shows a curious mixture of Greek and Latin characters. The name may be *Marca R...* or *Marcar[ita]* or for *Marcia*. Cf. *Marcar*, ILC 3893.

[16] Schulze, p. 334 and Index I of *C.I.L.* VI include *Ortorius*, *Ostorius*, and other similar names.

[17] This inscription is mentioned but not transcribed by O. Marucchi in *Le catacombe romane* (Rome, 1905), p. 246.119.

[18] On the use of ζ in transcribing Latin consonantal *i*, see *T.A.P.A.* LVIII (1927), 230.

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Σαλούτιος VR 49, MB 66
Σεβηρα VR 103 (*Lat. inscr. in Greek characters*)
Σεβηρους (= *Severus*) *ibid.*
Σειλικες (= *Silicius?*) [19] *Nuov. Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1900, p. 311
Σινπλικια [20] VR 106
Σιμπ[. .] VR 105
Σοσσιανους VR 36
Σούκεσσος NS 1920.147.5
Σουκ[. .] [21] (*fem.*) VR 60 (*Lat. inscr. in Greek characters*)
Στατωρεα NS 1920.153.50
Telesinius [22] VR 182
Βαλεντιανώ (*fem.*) MB 131
Valeria VR 185
Valerius VR 172, 185
Βενερωσα VR 114 (*Lat. inscr. in Greek characters*)
Βερεγονδος (= *Verecundus*) VR 115
Vernaclus MB 150
Βηριάνη NS 1920.149.32, Βηριά[νη] [23] NS 1920.147.7 (*both of the same woman*)
Βιβια (= *Vibia*) VR 93
Βικτω[. .] MB 69
Βικτωρα [24] VR 192
Βικτρω VR 39
Vindicianos NS 1919.68.21
Βιταλιω VR 117, Βιταλίων NS 1920. 146.2
Οὐρσακια VR 112
Οὐρσάκιος VR 87, 106, 112 (*all of the same man*)
Οὔρσος VR 113

2. Double Names (46 examples)

Αιλια Πατρικια VR 110 (*Lat. inscr. in Greek characters*)
Ael. Septima VR 140
Aelius Primitivus NS 1919.68.20
'Αγεντι[α . . .]άνη VR 2
'Ανίνιος Σαβινιανός MB 130
Aurel. Auguria VR 142
Αὐρηλια Καιλερεινα [25] VR 16 (*Lat. inscr. in Greek characters*)
Aurelia Flavia VR 146
Aur. Quintilla VR 148
Αὐρήλιος Βάσος VR 1
[A]ur. Crescen[s?] *in an unpub. inscr. of the catac. of Via Appia*
Καίλις [26] Κυεῖντος (= *Caelius Quintus*) NS 1892.345
Clau[dia M?]arcia [27] NS 1919.70.23
Κλ[αυ]δια Πριμα MB 88

[19] Cf. Σειλίκιος, cited by Schulze, p. 232, and *Silicius* in *C.I.L.* VI, Index I.

[20] VR, following Garrucci, read ΣΤΝΗΛΙΚΗ | ΔΟΤΓΑΤΗΡ. The actual reading of the stone, however, appears to be ΣΙΝΠΛΙΚΙ | ΑΘΤΓΑΤΗΡ.

[21] VR, following Garrucci, supply Σουκ[κεσσα], but the missing portion of the stone will hardly allow space for more than two letters. Perhaps supply Σουκ[κα]; cf. *Socus* VR 161, and, on *ου* for an *o*- sound, *ἀνουρο* = *annorum* MB 180. The name may, however, be of Semitic origin (*sukkah* = booth).

[22] Or *Telesinus*. The form *Telesinius* is cited by Schulze, p. 526; *Telesinus* is found in Bücheler-Lommatzsch, *Carm. Lat. Epig.* III, Supplem. (1926), 2113.

[23] Paribeni, *l.c.*, incorrectly reads ΒΗΡΙΑ.

[24] VR, following Garrucci, read BIKTCODA. I have preferred the reading of Fiorelli in *Catal. Mus. Naz. di Napoli; Raccolta epigraf.* II (Naples, 1868), 1958, and J. W. Burgon, *Letters from Rome* (London, 1862), p. 173.34.

[25] VR, following Garrucci, wrongly read ΚΑΜΕΡΕΙΝΑΙ. The form *Caelerina* is found in *C.I.L.* v. 1771.

[26] Gatti, *l.c.*, reads ΚΑΙΛΙΟς, but there is no room for an additional letter, and the broken letter is certainly a Σ of the lunate form, the usual form in these inscriptions. Cf. Καίλις, above.

[27] Paribeni, *l.c.*, reads CLAV*dius* mARCIAN. I prefer Clau[*diae M*]arcia[*e*], dative, since the previous name, Claudia[. . .]nice, is probably nominative.

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[Κλ]αύδιος Προβίνκις (= *Provincius*) [28] VR 22
Cresces Sinicerius NS 1920.152.47
Domitia Felicitas VR 144
Elius Aprilicus [29] MB 99
[Fa]ustula Provincia VR 163
Φλαβια Ἀντωνινα VR 35
Flavia Caritina? [30] VR 164
Flavia Datiba VR 164
Φλαβια Φλαβιάνη MB 130
Φλαβια Ἰουλιάνη VR 37
Φλαβια Βιταλις [31] VR 36 (*Lat. inscr. in Greek characters*)
Flavius Constantius MB 128
Φλάβιος Ἰουλιανός VR 37
Φλάβιος Σαβεῖνος NS 1919.61.2
Ἰουλια Ἐμιλια VR 51
Iul[i]a Rufina MB 154
Ἰουλια P[...] [32] NS 1920.146.1
Ἰουλια Σεβηρα MB 20
Iulus Sabinus MB 143
Iunia Rufhina VR 169
Ἰούνιος Ἰοῦστος MB 84
L. Maecius MB 1
Lucretia Faustina VR 172
Maecia Lucianis MB 1
Rufilla Pietas VR 179
Σίκουλος Σαβεῖνος MB 106
Οὐλπια Μαρεινα VR 111 (*Lat. inscr. in Greek characters*)
Beturia Paulina [33] VR 152
[...]a Marcella MB 95
[. . .]ια Φηλεικιτας MB 24
[. . .]ια Μαρκελ[λα] NS 1900.88
[...]ia Sabina VR 180

3. Triple Names

C. Furfanius Iulianus MB 11
L. Maecius Constantius MB 1
L. Maecius Victorinus MB 1

B. Greek Names (164 Examples)

Ἀγαθών NS 1920.148.20
Agathopus VR 142
Ἀθηνίων *Cronachetta Mensuale* 1883. 190.4
Ἀλεξαδρία NS 1920.150.33
Ἀλέξανδρος VR 5 (*bis*), 13, 68, MB 118, Alexander VR 143
Ἀλέξη? [34] VR 34
Ἀλύπις VR 6 (*bis*)
Ἀμάχις VR 7

[28] Not for *Propinquus*, as it is taken by VR (I, p. 59, n. 5). That would be written Πρόπινκος (*C.I.G.* 6430) or Πρώπινκος (*C.I.G.* 5569). There is no example of $\beta = p$ or $-\kappa\iota\varsigma = quus$. On the other hand, there are numerous examples of $\beta = v$ and $-\kappa\iota\varsigma = cius$. Cf. from the lists above Καστρίκις, Δατῖβος, etc. For the name, cf. *Faustula Provincia* VR 163, *Fl. Probincia C.I.L.* VI, 2963, Πρωβινκιάλης *C.I.G.* 6325.

[29] Müller reads APPVLICVS. The third and fourth letters look to me like a ligature of R and I rather than of P and V. Much different is the form of the V throughout this inscription. Cf. the facsimile in MB. Schneider-Graziosi in *Nuov. Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1915.44.99 also reads APRILICVS. Examples of the names *Aprilius*, *Aprilis*, and the like are given in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* and ILC, III (1928), Index I.

[30] The stone reads CARITINEN. The final N appears to be superfluous, a stonecutter's error.

[31] The stone has ΦΑΑΒΙΣ for ΦΑΑΒΙΕ (*dative*).

[32] The space will admit a name like Ρουφινα or Ρηγεινα.

[33] A proselyte, who later took the Hebrew name, Sara. See below, n. 80.

[34] ΑΛΕΞΕΣ, genitive, is probably for Ἀλέξης. On ϵ for η, see *T.A.P.A.* LVIII (1927), 214.

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'Αμέλις VR 8 (*bis*)
'Αμμιάς (*fem.*) VR 10
'Αναστασία NS 1919.66.13
'Αντίπας [35] MB 125
Archigenia MB 150
'Ασίας VR 12
'Ασκληπιοδότη VR 13
'Αστέρις VR 15 (*bis*), MB 16
'Αττικός *in an apparently unpub. inscr. of the catac. of Via Appia* [36]
Afrodisia VR 162
Γελάσις (*or* -ιος) MB 14 *and in an unpub. inscr. of the catac. of Via Nomentana*
Δάφνη NS 1920.149.23
Δάφνο[ς] NS 1920.149.22
Δελφῖνος *Nuov. Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1915, p. 96
Δεύτειρος VR 26, Deuteros VR 157
Διονυσίας VR 27
Dionysias (*fem.*) ILC 4914
Διονύσιος Berliner, *Gesch. Juden in Rom.* I, 91
Διόφατος NS 1920.147.8
Δωρείς (*fem.*) VR 28
Εἵμερος VR 40 (*Lat. inscr. in Greek characters*)
Εἰρήνη MB 73, 127, NS 1920.151.44, Εἰρήνα VR 46
Eparchia VR 158
'Επιγένιους MB 39
'Επιφανία VR 22
'Επορρόντων VR 18
'Ερμείας NS 1920.148.17
'Ερμογένης MB 132
['Εσ *or* 'Ισ]ιδώρα MB 50
Esidorus VR 159
'Ετητός (= Αἰτητός?) MB 136
Εὐγενία MB 115
Εὐγράφιος NS 1920.150.35
Εὐδόξιος VR 30
Εὔκαρπος *A.J.A.* 1924, p. 251
Εὐλογία VR 133, MB 119, Eulogia VR 160
Euloci (*dative?*) [37] VR 161
Εὐλόγις *Cronachetta Mensuale* 1883. 190.5
Εὐοδία MB 121 (*bis?*) [38]
Εὔοδος NS 1920.148.14
Εὔπορι (*for* Εὐπόρη?) [39] MB 46
Εὐσεβία MB 42
Εὐσέβιος VR 31, MB 19, Εὐσέβις VR 107, MB 127, NS 1919.65.7, Εὐσέβ[ις] NS 1920.148.17
[E]ὐσεβίς (*fem.*) *in an unpub. inscr. from the catac. of Via Nomentana*
Εὐτρόπις MB 5
Εὐτυχᾶς *in an apparently unpub. inscr. from the catac. of Via Appia* [40]
Εὐτυχείς (*fem.*) MB 6
Εὐτύχις MB 120
Eutyches VR 162
Eutychys MB 169 [41]
[E]ὐθυχιανός VR 32

[35] With hesitation I follow Müller in regarding ANTIΠA as a genitive. Perhaps we should read 'Αντίπα[τρα], a cognomen with the preceding [. . .]νια. This would fit easily into the missing space and would eliminate an awkward genitive.

[36] See above, n. 17.

[37] VR read EVLOGI.

[38] MB's reading of this name in line 8 is uncertain. There is no trace of it now.

[39] Bees, *l.c.*, regards this form as vocative of Εὐπόριος. There is, however, no parallel to this use of the vocative with the formula ἐνθάδε κεῖται. As for the use of the pronoun σου in line 3, similar confusions of person are found in VR 138 (*fecit . . . meo*), VR 40 (φηκι . . . σουω, *i.e. feci . . . suo*), MB 216 (σε . . . αὐτοῦ . . . κεῖμε). On ι for η, see *T.A.P.A.* LVIII, 215.

[40] See n. 17, above.

[41] Bees regards the inscription as certainly not Jewish. However, this in-

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Εὐφραντικός NS 1920.147.7, 149.32 [42] (*both of the same person*)
Εὐφράσις MB 37, Εὐφράσεις MB 124
Εὐφρένων VR 82
Εὔψυχος NS 1919.62.3
Ζωιτος (*genitive?*) [43] VR 104
Ζώσιμος VR 120, Ζώσειμος NS 1920. 148.12
Ζωτική *Cronachetta Mensuale* 1883. 189.3
Ζωτικός VR 121, Ζωτ[ικός] [44] NS 1919. 65.8
Ἡμαραντός MB 92
Θάλασα NS 1920.147.6
Θεόδοτος MB 17
Θεοδώ[ρα] NS 1920.149.31
Θεόδωρος NS 1920.149.29
Θεόφι[λος] VR 107, Θαιόφιλ[ος] *ibid.*
Ἰάσων VR 43, NS 1920.148.15, Ἰασω[. .] MB 53
Ἴλάρα MB 114
Ἴλαρος NS 1919.64.6
Ιοκαθινος? VR 44
Irenes (*fem.*) VR 166
Ireneus (= Εἰρηναῖος) NS 1920.152.46
Isia MB 146
Ἰστασία MB 129
Ἰώνιος MB 74
Cyrias (*fem.*) *in an unpub. inscr. of the catac. of Via Appia*
Κυρυλλᾶς MB 131
Λεοντία MB 23
Λεόντιος VR 55, Λεόντι[ος?] *ibid.*
Λέος VR 92
Μακεδόνις MB 118
Μαργαρίτα [45] VR 65
Μελίτιον (*fem.*) VR 69
Μένανδρος VR 53
Μηνόφιλος VR 20
Μόνιμος MB 122
Museus MB 86
Νεικόδημος VR 72
Νίκανδρος *Nuov. Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1900.311
Niketes ILC 4914
Νουμήνις VR 76, MB 16, Νουμένις VR 75
Xanthias NS 1920.153.51
Πανκράτιος [46] NS 1920.147.6
Παγχάριος VR 78, Παγχάρις VR 29
Πάρδος VR 96
Παρηγόριος [47] (*also* Parecorius *in bilingual inscription*) VR 108
Παρθένιος *in an apparently unpub. inscr. of the catac. of Via Appia* [48]
Παρθένος? [49] VR 79
Ποιμενίς (*fem.*) VR 81
Πολύκαρπο(ς) VR 17
Πολύ[μ]νις MB 110
Προκόπις (*or* -ιος) VR 25, 45, 66 (*all of the same man*)
Σαλπίνγιους VR 99
Σέλευκους NS 1920.146.4

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scription, which was found in the Monteverde catacomb, bears no distinctively non-Jewish indications. Bees's conjecture [*D*(*is*)] Man(*ibus*) in the first line is by no means certain, though, of course, quite possible.

[42] Paribeni, *l.c.*, reads ET/////TIKOΣ, but the entire name can be clearly made out on the inscription.

[43] From a nominative, Ζῶος? Cf. Fick-Bechtel, *Griech. Personennamen* (Göttingen, 1894), p. 33. Possibly for Ζώητος from a nom. Ζώης, or it may even itself be a nominative.

[44] Paribeni, *l.c.*, reads ZΩ . . . , but there is a clear trace of the T following.

[45] The stone reads MAPIAPITA.

[46] Paribeni reads ΠΑΝΚΡΕΑΤΙΟΤ, but the inscription distinctly shows ΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙΟΤ.

[47] The stone reads ΠΑΡΗΙΟΡΙΟΣ. Cf. n. 45, above, for a similar error.

[48] Cf. n. 17, above.

[49] Since the inscription is in a fragmentary condition, one cannot be certain that ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ is a proper name.

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Σιρίκα *in an unpub. inscr. of the catac. of Via Appia*, Sirica VR 145
Stafylus [50] VR 181
Στέφανος [51] NS 1919.61.1, Στεφ[..] *Nuov. Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1915.154
Στράτων MB 126
Σύμμαχος MB 70, 116
Σύρο[s] MB 82
Socus (= Σῶκος) VR 161
Σωφρονία *Nuov. Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1900. 311
Σωφρόνιος VR 56, NS 1920.150.35
Τροφίμη VR 109
Τρόφιμος VR 109
Τρύλλις? *Cronachetta Mensuale* 1883. 190.5
Τυχικός MB 120
Φίλιππος MB 6
Χρύσας [52] *Nuov. Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1915.49.115
Χρύσιος VR 169
Crysis VR 155

C. Semitic Names (67 Examples)

1. Single Names

Ἀβᾶς [53] MB 8
Almas [54] VR 139
Aster VR 145, Ἀστήρ MB 47
Ἀσστερία[s] VR 14
Ἀστέρις VR 15(*bis*), MB 16
Βαδιζ? MB 36
[B]αλσαμία MB 9
Bellule? ILC 4951
Βενιαμείν MB 41
Βεσούλη [55] VR 116 (*Lat. inscr. in Greek characters*)
Γαδίας VR 38, 98 (*both of the same man*)
Ἔμης MB 51
Ζαβούτταs VR 118 (*bis*; *Lat. inscr. in Greek characters*)
Ζορτα[νός? *or* -νιος?] [56] NS 1920.147.11
Ζωναθα [57] VR 119
Ἰλεί NS 1920.149.31
Ἰακώβ MB 62
Ionata VR 146
Ἰούδας VR 47, 48, 49, MB 58, 98, 113, NS 1919.67.17, 1920.147.7, [58] *and in two unpub. inscr. from the catacombs of Monteverde* [59] *and Via Nomentana, respectively*
Ἰωσῆς VR 45, MB 113
Μάρα VR 58, NS 1920.149.28 [60]
Μαρία VR 8 [61], 66, MB 66, 123, *Nuov. Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1900.311,

[50] VR, following Garrucci, read STAFVLO. I have followed Müller, MB, p. 47.

[51] Paribeni reads ΣΤΕΦΑΙνος, but the stone shows ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ.

[52] The stone reads ΧΡΥΣΑΕ. Ε for Σ is a common stonecutter's error.

[53] MB interpret νήπιο[s] Σαβᾶτος υἱός. I prefer νήπιος Ἀβᾶτος υἱός. For the name, cf. *Abas* and *Abbas* in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* and *L. Domitius Abbas* VR 144. It is listed by Zunz, *Namen der Juden*, p. 12, as one of the commonest Jewish names of the period.

[54] For *Almath*, which see in De-Vit, *Onomasticon* and *Thes. Ling. Lat.*

[55] Probably for *bethulah* = virgin. The masc. name *Bessula* (*Thes. Ling. Lat.* and ILC 2596, 3405A) has probably a different origin.

[56] Paribeni, *l.c.*, associates this name with that of the river Jordan. On ζ for Hebrew *yodh*, see *T.A.P.A.* LVIII (1927), 230.

[57] For Ἰωναθα(ν). Cf. the preceding note and the name Ionata in this list.

[58] Paribeni wishes to correct ΙΟΥΔΑΤΟΣ to ΙΟΥΔΑΙΟΣ, not noticing that this is one of a series of genitives.

[59] There is a MS. copy by G. Marini in Codex Vaticanus Latinus 9074, fol. 939.2. The inscription itself is in the monastery of S. Paolo on Via Ostiense.

[60] Paribeni reads MAPA, incorrectly.

[61] VR, following Garrucci, read MAPA, perhaps correctly. I have followed the reading given in *C.I.G.* 6337 and elsewhere.

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[M]αρία [62] NS 1920.147.7, Maria VR 177
Μνιασέας VR 70
Ῥεβέκκα MB 33
Σαβάτης MB 121
Σαβατίς (*fem.*) VR 91, Σαββατίς VR 92, 93
Σαβάτις (*or* -ιος) MB 32, VR 95 (*Lat. inscr. in Greek characters*), Σαββάτις (*or* -ιος) VR 94, MB 46, Sabbatius MB 15
Σαβατυς MB 59
Σάββασα MB 12
Σαββατία VR 88
Sabbat[..] *Nuov. Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1915.154
Σαλώ (*fem.*) VR 98
Σαμουήλ NS 1919.67.14, Σαμωήλ *and* Σεμωήλ VR 101 (*both of the same person*)
Σάρα MB 48, NS 1920.147.7 [63], Σάρρα VR 102
Σίμον MB 63 [64]
Simonis (*fem.*) VR 185

2. Double Name

Τουβίας Βαρζααρωνα
Tubias Barzaharona VR 108 (*biling. inscr.*)

D. Latin and Greek Combined (32 Examples)

1. Double Names

Ael. Alexandria VR 140
Αἰμιλια Θεοδόρα VR 1
[Αἰμ ?]λιος [65] Ἀντέρως MB 96
Ἄγριος Εὐάνγελος [66] VR 3 (*Lat. inscr. in Greek characters*)
Ἀλεξανδρία Σεβηρα VR 74
Aurelia Althea *in an unpub. inscr. of the catac. of Via Appia*
Aurelia Helenes VR 147
Αὐρηλια Ζοτική VR 18
Aurelia Protogenia VR 148
Aurelius Alexander VR 147
Aur. Hermias VR 150
Aur. Olympius MB 102
Καιλια Εὐόδους MB 7
Καίλιος Ἀναστάσις MB 28
Καττια Ἀμμιάς VR 20
Claudia [. . .]nice NS 1919.70.23
Φαβια Ἀσία NS 1919.67.15
Gargilia Eufraxia VR 165
Ἰόλεια Μαρκελλα *in an unpub. inscr. of the catac. of Via Nomentana*
Iulia Afrodisia VR 150
Iul. Alexandria MB 1
Εἰουλια Ἀλεξάνδρα [67] VR 40 (*Lat. inscr. in Greek characters*)
Μαρκεια Ζηνοδώρα NS 1920.152.45
Μαρκια Τρυφέρα NS 1920.152.45
Νεβια Κυρία (= *Naevia*) [68] NS 1920.150.41
Σεμπρωνιους Βασειλεύς VR 16 (*Lat. inscr. in Greek characters*)
Τούλλιος Εἰρηναῖος VR 110 (*Lat. inscr. in Greek characters*)

[62] I interpret [M]*aríes*, genitive of M*aría*. Cf. Σάρες in the same inscription (misread by Paribeni; see the following note), Ἀλέξες VR 34, Βεσούλες VR 116. Cf. n. 34, above.

[63] The inscription reads ΣΑΡΕΣ, a genitive. Paribeni, wrongly reading ΣΑΡΕΤ, combines this with the preceding ΚΑΙ and suggests Καισαρεύς. See notes 58 and 62, above.

[64] Possibly ΕΙΜΩΝ VR 104 is for ΣΙΜΩΝ.

[65] Müller reads ΑΤΟΥ, but the stone shows ΑΙΟΥ.

[66] The stone has ΕΥΑΝΓΕΔΟ, Δ for Λ.

[67] The careless stonecutter wrote ΕΙΟΥΑΙΑ ΑΑΕΞΑΝΔΡΑ.

[68] Not for *Nepia*, as Paribeni interprets. Greek ε for Latin *ae* and β for *v* are very common. Diehl in ILC, n. on 4986, has the correct interpretation.

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Tyresia Profutura VR 190
Βαρια Ζωτική MB 91
Marcus Cvyntus Αλexus VR 176
Tettius Rufinus Melitius VR 183

2. Triple Names

Κοῦντος Κλαύδιος Συνέσιος (= *Quintus*) VR 46

E. Latin and Semitic Combined (12 Examples)

1. Double Names

Appidia Lea VR 144
Αὐρ. Μαρία [69] VR 17
Aurel. Ioses VR 142
Benedicta Maria MB 26
Κλαύδιος Ἰωσῆς VR 21
Φαβια Μαυρία [70] NS 1919.67.15
Flavia Maria NS 1919.68.20
Pticia Aster MB 143
Τιτινια Ἄννα MB 34

2. Triple Names

L. Domitius Abbas VR 144
M. Abenna Zabda CIL VI, 7663
L. Maecia Sabbatis MB 1

F. Teutonic Name

Sigismudu[s] NS 1921.358

G. Doubtful Names

Ειμων [71] Εικος VR 104
Ευλλις [72] VR 120
Οπρωμαν VR 77
Ρμολνος Αμεν? [73] VR 89

Out of the 517 persons whose names have survived, 237 or 46 per cent bore purely Latin names, 164 persons or 32 per cent purely Greek names, 67 persons or 13 per cent purely Semitic names. The remainder, with the exception of the four which I have classified as doubtful, and the Germanic Sigismudus, had compound names, which combine two languages, either Latin and Greek or Latin and Semitic. If we add these 44 individuals to the 237 who bore purely Latin names, we have 281 out of 517 persons or 54 per cent who had at least one Latin element in their names; by a similar calculation 196 persons or 38 per cent had some Greek element in their names,

[69] The reading MAPA in VR (= Garrucci) is incorrect.

[70] Paribeni reads MATPΓA, incorrectly.

[71] Possibly for Σίμων. See n. 64, above.

[72] Could ETΛΛΙΣ ΑΡΡΩΝ of the inscription represent *Iulius Aaron*? If so, it would make a regular Latin-Hebrew combination, but the misspellings would be hard to parallel, although in this very carelessly written inscription the errors need hardly be held to any rule. Still, cf. the forms *Eulius* and *Eulia* in *C.I.L.* VI, 17344. The word ΑΡΡΩΝ is, however, usually and reasonably interpreted as for ἄρχων.

[73] The reading of the poorly formed cursive letters is very uncertain.

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and only 79 persons or 15 per cent bore at least one Hebrew or Aramaic name. Thus more than half of these had names which were either wholly or partly Latin, and just about one-seventh showed their Semitic origin in their names.

The commonest single masculine names are Judas with ten examples and Justus with nine. The commonest single feminine name is Maria with eight examples. The other names which either singly or in combination occur eight or more times are Aurelius(-a) 16 times, Sabatius(-a, with variations) 14, Flavius(-a) 13, Julia(-us) 12, Alexander(-dra, -dria) 12, Julianus(-a) 9, Eusebius(-a) 8, Marcellus(-a) 8, Sabinus(-a) 8.

It may be observed that many of the Semitic names have been Hellenized or Romanized. Such are Ἀστήρ (probably from Esther), Μνιασέας (for Manasseh), Σαβάτιος, etc. (from Shabbethai), and the like. Among the Latin and Greek names there may be some which were adaptations or translations of original Hebrew names.[74] Thus Museus appears to be an adaptation of Moses, Annia of Anna (Hannah). Possible translations of common Hebrew names are Gaudentius, Γελάσιος, and Ἴλαρος for Isaac; Δατῖβος and Δωνᾶτος for Nathan; Θεόδοτος and Θεόδωρος for Jonathan; Δουλκιτια for Naomi; Iustus and Πρόβος for Zadok; Regina for Malcah; Βιταλίων, Ζώσιμος, and Ζωτικός for Ḥayim; Εἰρήνη for Shelomith, and Εἰρηναῖος for Solomon; and so on. Although such adaptations and translations of Hebrew names have been common enough among the Jewish people both in the past and in the present day, it is impossible to say which, if any, of these last mentioned names and other similar names have Hebraic origins. One can merely suggest the possibilities, but no positive statements can be made with assurance.[75] It seems likely that, when a Jew called his child Gaudentius or Dulcitia, he was simply using a name that was current in the community, and did not have in mind a Hebrew equivalent. Many of them probably did not know enough Hebrew to be aware of any such equiva-

[74] On the Romanization of Hebrew names, cf. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'empire romain*, II, p. 229.

[75] Juster is more confident; *op. cit.* II, pp. 230 f.

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lent. For the same reason Jewish children were sometimes given *nomina theophora*, as Ἀσκληπιοδότη, Afrodisia, Ἑρμογένης, Ζηνοδώρα, although such names would seem to be abhorrent to Jewish tradition. The parents did not, it seems, concern themselves particularly about the actual meaning of the name.

The relationship between the language of the names and the language of the people as indicated by the inscriptions is presented in the following tables:

TABLE I

	In Greek Inscriptions	In Latin Inscriptions	Totals	*By Per Cent*	
				Gk. Inscr.	Lat. Inscr.
Latin names	148	89	237	62	38
Greek names	140	24	164	85	15
Semitic names	55	11	67[76]	84	16
Lat. and Gk. names	14	18	32	44	56
Lat. and Sem. names	4	8	12	33	67

TABLE II

	Latin Name	Greek Name	Semit. Name	Lat.-Gk. Name	Lat.-Sem. Name	Totals[77]
In Greek inscr.	148	140	55	14	4	365
In Latin inscr.	89	24	11	18	8	151
By Per Cent						
In Greek inscr.	40	39	15	4	1	
In Latin inscr.	59	16	7	12	5	

Table I reveals that the bearers of purely Greek names used, for the most part, the Greek language; of the bearers of purely Latin names the majority were Greek-speakers—quite naturally, since, as we have seen, three-fourths of these Jews used

[76] The bilingual inscription of Tubias Barzaharona (VR 108) is included in the total only.

[77] The four doubtful names have been included in the total of names in Greek inscriptions, the Teutonic name in the total for Latin inscriptions. The bilingual VR 108 is excluded from this table.

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Greek; the bearers of purely Semitic names were decidedly users of the Greek language; the bearers of mixed names, however, were mostly Latin-speakers. Table II reveals that, where Greek is the language of the inscription, the Latin names slightly surpass in number the Greek names; where Latin is the language of the inscription, the Latin names outnumber the Greek almost four to one.

I shall now consider the use of single and multiple names. Out of the 517 individuals, 421 or 81 per cent have single names, 87 persons or 17 per cent have double names, 9 persons or 2 per cent have triple names. All the double names contain at least one Latin element with the single exception of the Semitic name, Tubias Barzaharona, in which the second element is an Aramaic patronymic. Double names usually have the form of gentile name plus *cognomen*, as Aelius Primitivus; occasionally *praenomen* and gentile name, as L. Maecius; variations are seen in Cresces Sinicerius, Faustula Provincia, Iulus Sabinus, Rufilla Pietas, Σίκουλος Σαβεῖνος, Ἰόλεια[78] Μαρκελλα, Tyresia Profutura, Benedicta Maria. Triple names generally take the customary Roman form with the following exceptions: M. Cvyntus Αλexus, where we have two *praenomina* and a *cognomen;* Tettius Rufinus Melitius, where the gentile name is followed by two *cognomina*, the last, Melitius, apparently being of the type known as a *signum.*

I cannot in the limits of this paper do more than mention those late names, usually ending in *-ius*, which belong to the *signum* type; such, for example, as Constantius, Eusebius, Eutropius, Leontius, Procopius, Salutius, Sophronius.[79] In eight instances the presence of the *signum* is definitely indicated by such expressions as ὁ καί, *qui et*, and once by the word *signo* itself:

[78] If this form can be taken as a careless writing of Ἰουλεια, then the name corresponds to the normal type. Three examples of the name *Iulia Marcella* are listed in Index I of *C.I.L.* VI.

[79] On the *signum*, see especially Mommsen, "Sallustius = Salutius und das Signum" in *Hermes*, XXXVII (1902), 443–455; M. Lambertz, "Zur Ausbreitung des Supernomen oder Signum im römischen Reiche" in *Glotta*, IV (1913), 78–143, V (1914), 99–170.

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'Αμάχις ὁ καὶ Πρῖμος VR 7
'Ιώνιος ὁ κὲ 'Ακονε MB 74
Μόνιμος ὁ καὶ Εὐσαββάτις MB 122
Νεβια Κυρία ἡ καὶ Μαπλικα NS 1920.150.41
Μαρώνις ὁ κὲ [. . .] VR 68
'Αλεξάνδρο[υ το]ῦ κὲ Μαειου (*for* Μαθίου ?) VR 68
Cocotia qui et Iuda VR 138
Leo nomine et signo Leontius MB 144

At least four of these *signa* are Semitic names, an indication that some individuals, at least, bore a Hebrew name in addition to the Greek or Roman one by which they were officially known.[80]

The relation of the language of the inscription to the singleness or plurality of the name is revealed in tables III and IV:

TABLE III

	In Greek Inscriptions	In Latin Inscriptions	Totals	*By Per Cent*	
				Gk. Inscr.	Lat. Inscr.
Single names	327	94	421	78	22
Double names	37	49	87 [81]	43	56
Triple names	1	8	9	11	89

TABLE IV

	Single Names	Double Names	Triple Names	Totals
In Greek inscr.	327	37	1	365
In Latin inscr.	94	49	8	151
By Per Cent				
In Greek inscr.	90	10	–	
In Latin inscr.	62	32	5	

[80] It may be noted here that one epitaph of a proselyte indicates the assumption of a Hebrew name after conversion. Thus, Beturia Paulina (VR 152) took the name of Sara. Possibly also the proselyte Felicitas (MB 77) took a Hebrew name which the stonecutter corrupted into NVEN, if Deissmann's interpretation (in MB, *l.c.*) is correct. The other four certain examples of proselytes (VR 155, ILC 4914, NS 1920.151.44, 152.47) show no such adding of a Hebrew name.

[81] The bilingual VR 108 is included in this total only, and is excluded from table IV.

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From table III it appears that the proportion of the single names which are found in Greek inscriptions is slightly greater than the proportion of Greek inscriptions in the entire collection (74 per cent). Double names are found much more often in Latin inscriptions, while triple names occur almost entirely in Latin inscriptions. Table IV reveals that in Greek inscriptions the single names outnumber the double names ten to one, in Latin inscriptions less than two to one. We may, accordingly, safely conclude that the Greek-speakers preferred single names decidedly; that the Latin-speakers preferred single names, but frequently used double and sometimes triple names. The triple names are used only by the most Romanized Latin-speaking groups, possibly as an indication of Roman citizenship.

We may ask whether the names of women differ in any noteworthy respect from those of men. There are 313 names of males and 204 of females. As regards the language of the name, 133 of the males (42 per cent) and 104 of the females (51 per cent) had purely Latin names; purely Greek names were borne by 118 of the males (38 per cent) and 46 of the females (23 per cent); purely Semitic names by 40 of the males (13 per cent) and 25 of the females (12 per cent), practically the same percentage for each group. If we include the plural names, we find that 149 of the males (48 per cent) and 132 of the females (65 per cent) had some Latin element in their names. It appears, therefore, that the majority of the females had entirely Latin names, and that about two-thirds of them had at least one Latin name. Further, while Latin names were preferred for males also, when Greek names were used, they were more often given to boys. The explanation of this may be that the people who used Greek names had stronger national ties, since Greek had replaced Hebrew as the language of the people, and they tended to give the Greek family name to boys rather than to girls. A boy, for example, as we shall see presently, might be named for his father or grandfather. So also now with the Jewish people

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(and others, too) boys are more frequently given a family name, while girls receive names which are fashionable at the time.

I was interested to discover that more than twice as many women as men had double names—proportionately more than three times as many, for while double names were borne by only 29 of the men (9 per cent), 59 of the women (29 per cent) had such names. This again is perhaps due to the tendency to give fashionable names to the girls, while boys were more often named for an ancestor who had but one name. Triple names, however, as one might expect, appear to have been borne almost exclusively by men, since I find only one certain example of a Jewish woman with such a name and that in an apparently much Romanized family.[82]

In examining the use of names within the same family, I found that in nine cases the son had the same name as the father:

Ἀλέξανδρος VR 5, Ἀλύπις VR 6, Ἀμέλις VR 8, Ἀστέρις VR 15, Ζαβούττας VR 118, Θαιόφιλος—Θεόφιλος VR 107, Ἰουλιανός VR 52, Castricius—Καστρίκις VR 154, 50, Λεόντιος (*probably*) VR 55. We might add L. Maecius (MB 1), whose children received his *praenomen* and *nomen*.

This is a noteworthy point because many of the Jews of the present day regard it as a sacrilege to name a child after its parent or in fact after any living relative. This observation is of interest also in connection with the statement in the first chapter of *Luke* that John the Baptist was at first called Zacharias after the name of his father, and that when the mother insisted that he be called John, "They said unto her, There is none of thy kindred that has been called by this name." [83] This passage has been discussed as at variance with Jewish practices. I should note, however, that practically all the examples of child named for parent are from the

[82] L. Maecia Sabbatis, MB 1. The much cited inscription of Iul. Irene Arista (VR 168) has not been included, since I do not regard it as Jewish. Cf. n. 3, above.

[83] *Luke* 1, 59–61.

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catacomb on Via Appia,[84] where, as I shall point out, the most assimilated and Romanized of the Jewish congregations had their burial place. In five instances the daughter's name is the feminine form of the father's name:

Οὐρσάκιος—Οὐρσακια VR 112, Φλάβιος Ἰουλιανός—Φλαβια Ἰουλιανή VR 37, Μαρκελλους—Μαρκελλα VR 60, Τρόφιμος—Τροφίμη VR 109, Valerius—Valeria VR 185. Domitia Felicitas (VR 144) shows the gentile name of her father, L. Domitius Abbas.

All these are from the catacomb of Via Appia. In two other cases from this catacomb the son's name is similar to that of the mother:

Σεβηρα—Σεβηρους VR 103, Πετρωνια—Πετρώνιος VR 80. In this last example the father's name was Ὀνορᾶτος.

While in no certain instance is the daughter's name exactly like the mother's,[85] some with double names have the same gentile name but a different *cognomen:*

Ael. Septima—Ael. Alexandria VR 140, Aur. Quintilla—Aurelia Protogenia VR 148, Φαβια Ἀσια—Φαβια Μαυρια NS 1919.67.15.[86]

In the case of one family only do I have record of more than two generations. The scribe Ὀνωρᾶτος and his wife Πετρωνια had two sons, Ροῦφος, who became archon, and Πετρώνιος, the scribe, who was named for his mother; the son of Ροῦφος was named Ὀνωρᾶτος for the grandfather.[87]

I have, further, examined in detail the names from the several different catacombs with a view to discovering whether

[84] The inscriptions of Ἀλύπις, Ἀμέλις, and Ἰουλιανός are of uncertain provenience; that of L. Maecius is from the Monteverde catacomb.

[85] Εὐοδία in MB 121, line 8, is hardly a certain reading. It is now quite illegible. Cf. n. 38, above.

[86] In VR 69 the name of Δουλκιτια seems to bear some affinity with that of her mother, Μελίτιον.

[87] The inscriptions involved are, successively, VR 80, 57, 42, 41. Cf. VR, vol. I, p. 58, n. 8. Another instance of names persisting in a family may be revealed by VR 54 and 177. In the former it is indicated that Μάρων has buried his son, Ἰοῦστος; in the latter that Iustus has buried his father, Maro. Hence the succession may have been Μάρων—Ἰοῦστος (died at age 37)—Maro (wife Maria)—Iustus.

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or not there is any substantial difference between them. Only the three largest of the catacombs offer sufficient data to be of significance. These are the catacombs of Via Appia (Vigna Randanini), of Monteverde, and of Via Nomentana. Table V indicates the distribution of the names among these catacombs according to the language of the name:

TABLE V

	Latin Names	Greek Names	Semit. Names	Lat.-Gk. Names	Lat.-Sem. Names	Totals [88]
Appia	109	67	19	15	5	217
Monteverde	85	57	32	10	6	193
Nomentana	20	23	7	4	0	54
						464
By Per Cent						
Appia	50	31	9	7	2	
Monteverde	44	29	17	5	3	
Nomentana	37	43	13	7	0	

It appears that in the Via Appia catacomb there are far more Latin names in proportion, in the Via Nomentana catacomb there are proportionately more Greek names, while the Monteverde catacomb has a larger proportion of Semitic names than either of the other two, although here, as throughout the Jewish community, Greek and Latin names predominate.[89]

[88] The total for the Appia catacomb includes two doubtful names, that for the Monteverde catacomb includes two doubtful names and a Teutonic name. The 53 names which are from other catacombs than these three or are of uncertain provenience have been excluded from this table.

[89] As regards single and plural names, the following table of percentages shows that there is no very noteworthy difference between the three catacombs:

TABLE VI

Per Cent

	Single Names	Double Names	Triple Names
Appia	80	19	1
Monteverde	79	18	3
Nomentana	91	9	0

It may be observed, however, that the catacomb of Via Nomentana shows the largest proportion of single names and the smallest of plural names, a further indication of a community more Hellenized than Romanized.

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This would indicate—and other evidence leads to the same conclusion [90]—that the users of the Via Appia catacomb were the most Romanized portion of the Jewish community; those who buried their dead on Via Nomentana—the Jews of the Subura, as appears from some of the inscriptions—were chiefly Greek-speakers, who came from Greek-speaking lands; while the Jews of the Transtiberine district, all of whom appear to have used the Monteverde catacomb, were the most conservative in retaining their Hebrew character.

Thus in the names which they bore, as well as in many another matter, the Jews of Rome sought to assimilate themselves to their environment. And in fact, if we scan the names of the newer generation of Jews in the present day, even in the Yiddish-speaking centers, we shall find that Isaac has given way to Irving and that Alvin has displaced Abraham.

[90] This evidence will be presented in an article to be published later.

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XII—*A Deed of Sale at Olynthus*

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[Plates I–II]

In the excavations conducted by me at Olynthus on the hills east of Myriophyto, about 30 miles south of Saloniki, under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens was found on May 7, 1928, a badly worn inscription on limestone. It lay only 0.20 m. below the present surface in an ancient house a short distance northeast of the *agora* or civic center. The stone, of which the original edges are preserved at the top and at the sides, is 0.33 m. wide at the top, 0.29 m. wide at the bottom, 0.34 m. high, and 0.10 m. thick. Even after much cleaning, the weathered letters, 0.011 m. to 0.014 m. high, are difficult to read. Horizontal incised ruled lines separate the letters of all thirteen lines. Omicron and theta are only 0.005 m. high. Its date is the first half of the fourth century B.C. before the destruction of Olynthus by Philip in August, 348 B.C. See plate I.

. . . . . ΗΑΓ ⊙Η
ΞΕΝΩΝ
ΧΙΩΝΟΣΓΑΡΑΕΥΒΟΥΛΙΔΕ
ΩΤΟΥΑΡΓΑΛΕΟΣΤΗΝΟΙΚΙ
ΗΝΤΗΝΕΧΟΜΕΝΗΝΤΗΣΦΙ
ΛΟΞΕΝΟΥΤΟΥΧΑΒΡΕΟΣΚΑΙΤ
ΗΣΕΑΥΤΟΥ88ΧΧΧΒΕΒΑΙ
ΩΤΑΙΓΥ⊙ΕΑΣΓΥ⊙ΙΩΝΟΣΦΙΛ
ΑΙΝΑΗΡΩΝΟΣΙΕ ΡΕΥΣΑΝ
ΤΙΔΟΤΟΣΓΟΛΥΚΛΕΟΣΜΕΙΣΑΓΑ
ΤΟΥΡΙΩΝΜΑΡΤΥΡΕ ΣΦΑΡΝΑΒΑ
ΞΟΣΕΥΚΑΕΟΣΦΙΛΞΕΝΟΣΧΑ
ΒΡΕΟΣΜΥΣΙΟΣΤΙΜΑΝ⊙ΕΟΣ

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Θεός· τύχ]η ἀγ[α]θ[ῇ·
ἐπρίατο] Ξένων ὁ . . .
Μοσ]χίωνος παρὰ Εὐβουλίδε-
ω τοῦ Ἀρπαλέος τὴν οἰκί-
5 ην τὴν ἐχομένην τῆς Φι-
λοξένου τοῦ Χαβρέος καὶ τ-
ῆς ἑαυτοῦ 88XXX· βεβαι-
ωταὶ Πυθέας Πυθίωνος, Φιλ-
αίνα Ἥρωνος. ἱερεὺς Ἀν-
10 τίδοτος Πολυκλέος. μεὶς Ἀπα-
τουριών. μάρτυρες Φαρνάβα-
ζος Εὐκλέος, Φιλ(ό)ξενος Χα-
βρέος, Μύσιος Τιμάνθεος.

The top of the stone is worn and the bottom gone so that it is impossible to say how tall it was. But the smooth space below the inscription shows that we have a complete text of 13 lines except for certain missing letters in the first three lines. The stone was defective so that in l. 9 there is a space between IE and PEYΣ where the stone has an original break and in l. 11 between MAPTYPE and Σ. In line 12 omicron was omitted by mistake in Φιλ(ό)ξενος. The forms of letters M, Σ, E, and small omicron and omega date the inscription about 350 B.C. The Greek forms are Ionic, οἰκίην, μεὶς for μήν and the several genitives in -εος, Ἀρπαλέος, Χαβρέος, Πολυκλέος, Εὐκλέος, Τιμάνθεος. Evidently Ionic was the dialect at Olynthus in the fourth century B.C.

The heading is easily restored by analogy with another inscription which we found at Olynthus, but it is difficult to decide exactly how to read the missing beginning of the second line. However, it seems likely that the necessary word is ὠνήσατο or ἐπρίατο, which would fill the space exactly and which occur in other similar inscriptions.[1] The name

[1] Dareste, Haussoullier, Reinach, *Recueil des Inscriptions Juridiques Grecques*, pp. 63–106; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*², 832; Παράρτημα τοῦ ἀρχαιολογικοῦ Δελτίου, IX, 1922–1925, 40.

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of the purchaser seems to be Xenon and his father's name, which can no longer be read, might have been Moschion. Xenon bought from Euboulides, the son of Harpaleus, the house between his own and that of Philoxenus, son of Chabres. Probably he wanted to enlarge his own house and so purchased the house next door to his own. Generally the phrase is *τὴν οἰκίαν ἢ γείτων* but here we have *τὴν ἐχομένην*, as in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* v (1881), 109, l. 10. There were two guarantors or *βεβαιωταί*, a man and a woman, Pytheas, son of Pythion, and Philaena, daughter of Heron. The mention of a priest, Antidotus, son of Polycles, dates the sale, which took place in the third month of the year, called Apatourion, but unfortunately we do not know the year when Antidotus was the eponymous priest.[2] The number of witnesses to the transaction is three, Pharnabazus, son of Eucles, Philoxenus, son of Chabres, who lived next to the purchased house, and Mysius, son of Timanthes. The price paid for the house is uncertain because the sign like a figure 8, which appears twice before XXX, is, so far as I know, unknown. The only exact parallel is in a Macedonian inscription dating also from the fourth century and found near Sermyle (the modern Ormylia), only a few

[2] Cf. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*[3], 832, for a similar Macedonian inscription from Amphipolis, dated also, *ἐπὶ ἱερέως*. Dittenberger believes that this phrase was used because the inscription was set up in the sanctuary of Asclepius. But it was customary often to date inscriptions by the name of a priest without respect to the place where the inscription was to be placed. Cf. also Dittenberger, *Sylloge*[3], 380. As Dittenberger gives in every case an incorrect division of the lines, omits the last three lines, and has several errors, I give a new text from my copy and squeeze. The marble stone is no longer at Cassandreia "in metochio Dokhiario" but at Hagios Mamas (which Leake, Cousinéry, Demitzas and others wrongly took to be Olynthus) in the house of Alexander Theocarides. Width 0.33 m., height 0.37 m., thickness 0.10 m. Letters 0.015 m., omega and omicron 0.01 m. *ἐφ' ἱερέως τοῦ Λυσιμάχου | Τιμησίου, Δημητριῶνος. | Πάνταινος Συμμάχου | Ἱπολυτεὺς εἶπεν· ἐπεὶ | δὴ Ἀνδρόβολος Μένωνος | Αἰτωλὸς ἐγ Ναυπάκτου | ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστιν περὶ | τὴν πόλιν τὴν Κασσαν- | [δρέ]ων καὶ τοῖς εἰσαφικνο- | [υμένοις ἐκ] ταύτης εἰς Αἰτω- | [λίαν χρείας] παρέχεται.* At the end of the next line are the letters *ν εἶν[αι]* and in the next line ΣΑΙ, either *στεφανῶσαι* or *ἐπαινέσαι*. Dittenberger reads wrongly Πάντα(ι)νος, Ἱπ(π)ολυτεὺς, Ἀν(δ)ρόβολος Μ[ή]νιος, *ἐκ* for *ἐγ*. For *χρείας παρέχεται* cf. Dem. 253.16 and Dittenberger, *Sylloge*[3], 381, l. 9.

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hours east from Olynthus. Professor S. Pelekides has published it in the Παράρτημα τοῦ ἀρχαιολογικοῦ Δελτίου, IX, 1922–1925, 40 and reads in line 15 τιμὴ Τ. BBXXXX with the names of at least two μάρτυρες and that of one βεβαιωτής following. I looked at this stone in the archaeological museum in the Yeni Djami at Saloniki and found that the symbol is the same as on our Olynthus inscription and that it resembles the figure 8. Such a letter occurs in Etruscan and Lydian,[3] but what it means in a fourth century Ionic inscription is not clear. It cannot be the similar sigla which occurs in papyri,[4] where it means $^1/_2 + {}^1/_3 = {}^5/_6$, nor the symbol which occurs in a magic inscription on gold foil of the second century A.D. from Thessaly.[5] Another possible parallel is in an inscription from Halicarnassus, dating about 410 B.C., first published by Haussoullier,[6] where the number, which is like the earliest form of the Lydian letter 8 in the Lydian inscriptions,[7] is unexplained. Some years later Bruno Keil [8] ingeniously interpreted the symbol as meaning ten staters, the letter I = 10 having added to it above and below little circles to distinguish it from the sign for obol, which also was I. In the Lydian inscription No. 37, cited in note 7, where the same symbol stands alone with the monogram for Artemis and is used as a mason's mark, it may indicate that the marble block on which it was cut was to be used as the tenth block in the foundations of the temple of Artemis at Sardis. If the symbol stands for ten staters, then the price paid for the house at Olynthus would be 23 gold staters, the symbol for ten being repeated twice and the three chi's representing three χρυσοῖ. This seems to be a small price, not more than $115, to pay for a house and it is

[3] Cf. Buckler, *Lydian Inscriptions* (*Sardis*, VI, 1924), XIII.

[4] Cf. Grenfell-Hunt, *Greek Papyri*, Series II (1897), XLVII, p. 76; *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden*, 178, 7 and 274, 3; *Pap. Strassb.* I, 45.

[5] *I.G.* IX, 2, 232, l. 46; *P.A.P.A.* XXVIII (1897), XXI f.

[6] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* IV (1880), 295–320; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*[3], 46 c.

[7] Cf. Buckler, *op. cit.* Nos. 30, 37, pp. 54, 56, pl. XII, 30.

[8] Cf. *Hermes*, XX (1894), 253.

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possible that the symbol stands for one hundred (or even one thousand) and that the price is 203 gold staters or about $1,000. The 8 symbol might be a variant of the closed ⊟ = ⊟EKATON, which occurs in a fragment of the building accounts of the temple at Nemea, of which Professor Blegen publishes a good photograph in *Art and Archaeology*, XXII, (1926), 132, along with circles to indicate the number 10. If O is the symbol for 10, the symbol for 100 could have been built up as O times O = 8. But the Nemean symbol for 100, which occurs with O in *I.G.* IV, 481, 616 and elsewhere, is the rough breathing; and Y = 400, which in the Sermyle inscription usurps the hundreds' place, argues against the interpretation as 100. If Y is a symbol for 50, like ⅄, used in the Megarian colonies (*J.H.S.* XXXIII (1913), 29), the 8 would still be 10 and the total 73. If it were not for this, one might also read 88XXX in inverted order as 3200 drachmas. So we decide for 8 = 10. In *J.H.S.* XXXIII (1913), 34 we have a Boeotian symbol Ɔ used to denote the numeral 10 and we know there was much Boeotian influence at Olynthus. The house where this inscription was found is very small and had only one or two rooms, so that perhaps it could have been bought for as little as $115. It may have been only an office of some official who had a better house in the wealthy residential suburbs; cf. *A.J.A.* XXXII (1929), 53 ff. The eleventh oration of Isaeus tells of a house at Eleusis which sold for five minae ($100), though one in Athens brought 30 minae. At the 12 to 1 rate of exchange 23 gold pieces of the Olynthian local mint would be worth about 5½ Attic minae, so that 23 gold staters seems to be a reasonable price for a very small house. In Isaeus V Dicaeogenes sells a house in Athens to Philonicus for 50 minae but prices in Athens would be much higher than in Olynthus. The price in the Sermyle inscription cited above would then be 424 gold staters and in the Amphipolis inscription we have a price of 300 gold staters. That χ stands for χρυσοῦς or the gold stater is very probable, since by 400 B.C., or before, Olynthus, or rather the Chalcidic League, began

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the issue of gold staters of about 133 grains of the Attic standard. This continued the standard of the staters of Lydia where this symbol, as we have seen, was used in the Lydian alphabet. It was from this Olynthian stater that Philip took the standard of his staters.[9] The origin of the Olynthian stater is Lydian and it is possible that the symbol used to denote the figure ten was also of Lydian or Asia Minor origin.

For the βεβαιωταί or guarantors cf. Dareste, Haussoullier, Reinach, *op. cit.* p. 98, and Partsch, *Griechisches Bürgschaftsrecht*, I, pp. 340–358. Often the phrase is πρατῆρες καὶ βεβαιωταί and the number varies from one as in the Amphipolis and Sermyle inscriptions up to even ten. But especially interesting here is the fact that of the two guarantors one is a woman. I know of no other case of a woman as βεβαιωτής. Women had little to do with law. Even in court the testimony of women was virtually excluded except in homicide cases (cf. Bonner, *Class. Phil.* I, 1906, 127–132). The number of witnesses is three, whereas in the Amphipolis and Sermyle inscriptions, although they involved larger sums of money, there are only two witnesses. Evidently the number of witnesses depended not upon the amount of money but on the number of a man's friends. Here two of the witnesses have Asia Minor names and the third is the owner of the house next to the one purchased.

There are some new forms of proper names in this inscription, such as Chabres. There was a river in Macedonia called Χάβριος or Χάβρις[10] and so there might have been a proper name Χαβρῆς corresponding to the Athenian Χαβρέας. Φιλαίνα is perhaps a variant of Φιλίνα or Φίλιννα.[11] The name may be connected, however, with the masculine form Φίλαινος borne by the two famous Carthaginian brothers (Strabo, III, 171; XVII, 836). Most of the other names are already known in

[9] Cf. Gardner, *History of Ancient Coinage*, pp. 339, 423 ff.

[10] Ptol. III, 13, 13.

[11] *C.I.G.* III, 3980.

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Macedonia. Euboulides, a Chalcidian, is found in Polybius, XXI, 14 and XXII, 26. Polycles occurs in Diodorus Siculus, XIX, 11, 6. Philoxenus occurs in Pausanias, II, 33, 4 and in several other passages as the name of a Chalcidian.[12]

This inscription, then, is important not only because of the great scarcity of inscriptions from Olynthus, not only because it shows that the Ionic dialect and alphabet were used there, but especially because it is a rare legal document which throws much light on Greek private law with regard to the sale and purchase of private houses.

Here may be added conveniently three fragments of similar friable poor limestone, which we found in what we called "division 8" in the suburban residential section to the northwest on the northern hill at Olynthus.[13] They are too broken to enable us to restore the words but they are probably pieces of the same document which recorded similar sales to that described above. The first one (a) has its original left edge. The greatest height is 0.22 m., the greatest width 0.06 m., the greatest thickness 0.05 m. Of fragment (b) the greatest height is 0.28 m., the greatest width 0.09 m., the greatest thickness 0.095 m. Its original right side is preserved, but all other sides are badly broken. Of fragment (c) the greatest height is 0.12 m., the greatest width 0.26 m., the greatest thickness 0.08 m. Its original right edge is preserved. The letters on all three pieces vary from 0.012 m. to 0.015 m. in height. The distance between the incised horizontal lines is about 0.024 m. The letters were painted red, as there are abundant traces of red paint in many of the preserved letters. Date about middle of fourth century B.C. See plate II.

[12] Cf. Pape, *Griechische Eigennamen*, *s.v.*

[13] Cf. the preliminary report on the excavations at Olynthus, *A.J.A.* XXXIII (1929), 63f.

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(*a*)	(*b*)	(*c*)
⊙ E	Y	K A I T O I Ξ Ω I . O P T O E X O Y
⊙ E I ⅃	M E	O N K A I E Ξ O Δ O N E Ξ P E ⊙
N E K /	N E Γ I	O Δ E K
⊙ E P	Y I Γ	
Γ Λ	O M E	
N H	I Ξ T	
	O Y	
	O Γ E	
	A P A	
	B E B A I	
	I Γ	

In fragment (b) in l. 9 is part of the word *παρά* and in l. 10 *βεβαι[ωται* and in (c) l. 2 we have the word *ἔσοδον*, so that there is no doubt that these fragments also dealt with the sale of houses.

Since this paper was put in page proof there has come into my hands an excellent article by M. N. Tod, entitled "Further Notes on the Greek Acrophonic Numerals" in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XXVIII (1927), 141–157; but it helps very little in the interpretation of our new numeral.

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XIII.—*The Homeric Gloss: a Study in Word-sense*

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There are, in general, two distinct views held concerning those Homeric words whose meaning is, for us, unknown or conjectural. Some suppose that their original signification was known to Homer and his public, but was lost because of linguistic changes which took place between the epoch of Homer and the historical period of Greek literature. It is chiefly the hope of making good this loss which has inspired the many well-known attempts to explain these words by the methods of comparative philology. Others suppose that their meaning had already been more or less forgotten when the verses of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were composed.[1] This theory has been suggested often and variously, but always

[1] In this study a somewhat special distinction will be made in the use of the terms *signification*, *meaning*, *sense*. The *signification* of a word is that which it denotes, that is, the definition which would be given it as an entity isolated from all contexts. *Meaning* refers to the ideas, single or multiple, exact or vague, which a word arouses in the mind when used in connection with other words. The *sense* of a word is that particular delimitation of its meaning brought about by its *repeated* use in combination with certain other words, or in connection with the expression of certain categories of ideas, or in certain forms of literature. Thus to take an example in English: *Alexander the Great*. The signification of *great* is "large in spatial dimension" (Webster); its meaning is "eminent or distinguished by rank, power, or moral character" (Webster); its sense is—more or less exactly—"King of Macedon, B.C. 336–323." For in this phrase, as it is ordinarily used and understood, the adjective does no more than specify that it is a certain Alexander who is mentioned. An example of the sense of a word determined by its repeated use in connection with the expression of certain categories of ideas, is the word *idea* itself, in Greek or English, used as a term of Platonic philosophy. One example of the sense of a word resulting from its use in a certain form of literature is that possessed in old English ballads by 'merry,' or 'greenwood.'

The importance of these distinctions lies in the fact that, just as the meaning of a word replaces its signification, from the point of view of its thought content, just so does the sense replace the meaning.

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more as an impression than as the conclusion of any constructive reasoning; and that for a quite natural cause: so long as it was believed that the processes of verse-making were the same for Homer as for any poet of ancient or modern times who wrote an individual style, it was impossible to explain reasonably how a poet could have used words which he did not understand. The purpose of this paper is to give an explanation of how this could really be, based on the conception that the Homeric style is a traditional style, a view which I have set forth in my study *L'Épithète traditionnelle dans Homère* (Paris, 1928). But the present pages will not take as the premises of their reasoning the conclusions of that essay. Rather I would point out, to begin with, one of the phenomena determining our own comprehension, or non-comprehension, of the glosses, and then show that this phenomenon, in turn, can be understood only in the light of a traditional technique of verse-making.

* * *

It must be granted that the definition of the gloss given by Aristotle (*Poetics*, 1457b3) is incomplete: "By a *regular word* I mean one which is in common use, by a *gloss* one which is used abroad."[2] For the third alternative is omitted: the word which is obsolete in all dialects. Indeed, to all purposes the glosses of Attic poetry were for the greater part archaisms. Only the smallest portion of an audience of Aeschylus could have known that ἄναξ was still employed in Cyprus, and κέλευθος in Arcadia;[3] they must have recognized them as words met with in Homer, or in more recent poetry, and felt simply that they were no more in common use. The definition of Liddell and Scott—"An *obsolete* or *foreign* word which needs explanation"—is unsatisfactory for the important reason, as we shall see, that by far the larger number of words which must be classed as glosses certainly needed no explanation. What is more, the essential characteristic of the gloss is its

[2] λέγω δὲ κύριον μὲν ὧι χρῶνται ἕκαστοι, γλῶτταν δὲ ὧι ἕτεροι, ὥστε φανερὸν ὅτι καὶ γλῶτταν καὶ κύριον εἶναι δυνατὸν τὸ αὐτό, μὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς δέ.

[3] Buck, *Greek Dialects*[1] § 191.

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form, and not its "foreign" and so poetic quality, which is a consequence of its form. In the following pages I shall use the term *gloss* as signifying *an element of vocabulary which has either no correspondence, or at best a remote one, with any element of vocabulary in the current language of an author's public.*

* * *

The phenomenon which furnishes the point of departure of the present study is simply this: the words in Homer for whose meaning we are in the dark are limited almost entirely to the category of ornamental epithets, that is, of adjectives used attributively and without reference to the ideas of the sentences or the passages where they appear.

As a result of the direct and substantial nature of Homeric thought, finding its expression in a style which rigorously avoids abstraction, those words in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* which have no correspondents in later Greek, with the exception of those which are ornamental epithets, are usually explained by the context. The explanation necessarily varies in exactness, according to the word and the circumstances of its use, but in only a very few instances does the meaning remain obscure. δαήρ, 'brother-in-law', which is found only in Homer, may be taken as an example of the way in which the signification of a word is thus revealed. In Z 344 Helen addresses Hector: δᾶερ ἐμεῖο; and then we have the verses spoken by Helen at the funeral of Hector:

Ω 768 ἀλλ' εἴ τίς με καὶ ἄλλος ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἐνίπτοι
δαέρων ἢ γαλόων ἢ εἰνατέρων ἐυπέπλων,
ἢ ἐκυρή,

Typical too is ἔστωρ, which appears in Greek only once, in Ω 272, where Homer relates the preparing of the wagon which is to carry Priam and the ransom to the camp of the Achaeans:

Ω 270 ἐκ δ' ἔφερον ζυγόδεσμον ἅμα ζυγῶι ἐννεάπηχυ.
καὶ τὸ μὲν εὖ κατέθηκαν ἐυξέστωι ἐπὶ ῥυμῶι,
πέζηι ἔπι πρώτηι, ἐπὶ δὲ κρίκον ἔστορι βάλλον,
τρὶς δ' ἑκάτερθεν ἔδησαν ἐπ' ὀμφαλόν, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
ἐξείης κατέδησαν, ὑπὸ γλωχῖνα δ' ἔκαμψαν.

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For ἔστορι there has been found no nearer correspondence than the doubtful one with Ionic-Attic ἔρμα, and ὕσταξ glosed by Hesychius: πάσσαλος κεράτινος; but it is evident that it can signify only the *yoke-pin*.[4]

In some cases the context furnishes us with the meaning, though not the signification of a word. Certainly such a word has a certain quality of vagueness, and so of remoteness, which, if anything, must have made it all the more suitable to epic style; but nevertheless, in such instances, the meaning indicated is usually quite clear. The aorist ἄεσα, for instance, has no nearer correspondent in Homer than ἰαῦσαι, and in later Greek than αὐλή,[5] but a single use of the word gives its meaning:

π 366 ἅμα δ' ἠελίωι καταδύντι
οὔ ποτ' ἐπ' ἠπείρου νύκτ' ἄσαμεν, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ πόντωι
νηὶ θοῆι πλείοντες ἐμίμνομεν Ἠῶ δῖαν,

What is more, this word, used only in the aorist (6 times), is invariably joined with νύκτα. That it signify 'rest', 'pass', or, as its possible etymology would suggest, 'stay', can add little to our understanding of the verses where it appears. Similarly there is ἐμμαπέως, found only in E 836 and ξ 485, where the circumstances of its use easily and surely furnish some such meaning as 'rapidly':

E 835 Ὣς φαμένη Σθένελον μὲν ἀφ' ἵππων ὦσε χαμᾶζε,
χειρὶ πάλιν ἐρύσασ', ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἐμμαπέως ἀπόρουσεν·

ξ 484 καὶ τότ' ἐγὼν Ὀδυσῆα προσηύδων ἐγγὺς ἐόντα
ἀγκῶνι νύξας· ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἐμμαπέως ὑπάκουσε·

Even in such a case as that of ἀμολγῶι we do not really suffer anything from our inability to give a definition. The word is found always in the expression (ἐν) νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶι (5 times) which, taken as a whole, can only mean 'in the dark of night'; it would

[4] See Leaf, *Iliad*[2] (London, 1902), II, pp. 623 ff.

[5] The etymological evidence adduced by the comparative method which will be cited in this paper is chiefly from Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Heidelberg, 1923.

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be difficult to devise a meaning which would be essentially different.

In a very rare number of cases we do find a word other than an ornamental epithet which must remain unexplained, for example ἐντυπάς, found only in Ω 163. In this passage the poet tells how Iris, arriving at the palace of Priam, found the household plunged in grief:

Ω 161 παῖδες μὲν πατέρ' ἀμφὶ καθήμενοι ἔνδοθεν αὐλῆς
δάκρυσιν εἵματ' ἔφυρον, ὁ δ' ἐν μέσσοισι γεραιὸς
ἐντυπὰς ἐν χλαίνῃι κεκαλυμμένος·

ἐντυπάς, evidently an adverb, has variously found the interpretations 'prostrate', 'bowed', 'closely-wrapped', and its meaning must remain doubtful. But it is almost sure that if we had even one other use of the word we could explain it: in no case do we find in Homer a word other than an ornamental epithet which, when used with any frequency, refuses to disclose its meaning.

The situation is only too different in the case of those glosses which are ornamental epithets. We are frankly ignorant, in spite of the fact that they are often frequently used, of the meaning of αἰγίλιπος (3 times, of cliffs); αἴμονα (once, in the phrase αἴμονα θήρης); ἀκάκητα (twice, of Hermes); ἀλαλκομενηίς (twice, of Athene); ἀλοσύδνης (once of Thetis, once of Amphitrite); ἀλφηστάων (5 times, of mortals); ἀτρυγέτοιο (17 times of the sea, once of the air); ἀφήτορος (once, of Apollo); ἀμφιγυήεις (11 times, of Hephaestus), etc. There are as many other words of the same sort commencing likewise with the vowel alpha for which we may, or may not, know the meaning, for it is often as difficult in this connection to refute an explanation as it is to confirm one. These epithet glosses are used ornamentally, and the idea which each expresses has no bearing upon the ideas of the sentence or passage where they appear. They do not express an *essential*[6] idea and so they

[6] For the exact force of the term *essential* as used here cf. Parry, *L'Épithète traditionnelle*, p. 16.

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are not, as are the other parts of speech, an integral part of the frame of thought.

* * *

We now know the relation, *for us*, between the context and the meaning of the glosses, and we have made the distinction between the glosses which we usually understand and those which can be explained only in the degree that they have some correspondence with other words in Homer or in later Greek; these latter will from now on be referred to as ornament glosses. But as yet no attempt has been made to decide whether, or to what extent, Homer was here in the same position as ourselves. Accordingly we shall first consider the possible conditions under which he might have understood the ornament glosses and then, if these are unacceptable, see how the explanation that he did not know their signification, or their original meaning, accords with what we know from other sources concerning the traditional character of the epic language and diction.

If the poet (or the poets) of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* knew the true signification of the ornament glosses, without having access to any traditional or recorded explanation, we shall be forced to make the date of composition of the poems go back to a time so ancient that it will find, certainly, no serious support. For we shall thus be obliged to suppose that the elements of vocabulary which make up the ornament glosses were then in current use in the spoken language, so that poet and public understood μερόπων, for instance, with the same facility as an audience of Pindar or Aeschylus understood any of the epithets of these poets. The thought may occur to some that we might be able to show linguistically that certain ornament glosses were formed in an earlier period of the language, but it is doubtful if we may hope to prove very much in this way. Such epithets as μώνυχες, νήγρετος, νηλής, or those containing an Aeolic element, as ζατρεφέων, ζαθέοισι, ἐρίηρος, ἐριαύχενες, etc., furnish no conclusive evidence, since their meaning is sufficiently indicated either by corresponding

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elements in Homer, or by the meaning of the nouns with which they are joined. (This latter is the sole manner in which the context may help explain an ornamental epithet.) Such interpretations as διάκτορος, 'Giver' (διὰ + κτέρας), or ἀργειφόντης, 'of gleaming rays' (which M. Bérard seems to accept as originating with some Chaldean conception of Hermes as the planet),[7] and the like, are at the best doubtful. And even if the formation from ancient elements of vocabulary were proved in the case of certain ornament glosses, it would have only a proportionate bearing on the others. Without speaking of the limitations, in this connection, of the comparative method,[8] we lack almost altogether the two basic elements of the proof, by specific linguistic evidence, of the date when the ornament glosses were formed: the date of the poems and the sure signification of even a few of those ornament glosses which have no correspondences in Homeric or later Greek.

The answer to the question must be based upon our general estimation of the rapidity with which the Ionic dialect could have changed. Can we suppose that the time which elapsed between the period of Homer and that of Archilochus, of Theognis, even of Herodotus, to name periods for which we have a progressively increasing knowledge of Ionic vocabulary, is sufficient to justify the differences of phonology and vocabulary which make it impossible to explain so large a part of the Homeric vocabulary by corresponding elements in Greek of the historical period? The words in Archilochus and Theognis (with the exception of those imitated from the epos) for which we are unable to find corresponding elements in Ionic or Attic prose are few or none. Unless, then, we wish to suppose, for the spoken Greek of Ionia between the period of Homer and historical times, an acceleration of linguistic change unparalleled elsewhere in the domain of Greek dialects, to what great antiquity must we assign Homer if we would suppose

[7] *Introduction à l'Odyssée* (Paris, 1924), I, p. 202.

[8] Cf. Meillet, *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque*[1] (Paris, 1920), p. 40.

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that he naturally understood the ornament glosses, explaining them by corresponding elements of current speech? This antiquity it is easy and necessary to accept for his language, but difficult to believe in for himself. And even if we were to grant this very great antiquity of the poet and to accept an explanation of very rapid linguistic change, we should have shown only how Homer might have understood those ornament glosses which were Ionic. He could not, under any circumstances, have understood without some written or traditional explanation the non-Ionic elements of vocabulary found in these words. Yet knowing as we now do, by the linguistic evidence, that the epos, with its language and style, was Aeolic before it became Ionic, and possibly Achaean before that, it would be rash to claim that the ornament glosses were exclusively Ionic.

It is important in this connection to make the following observation: with the exception of the ornament glosses there is no difficulty raised by supposing that the spoken language of Homer was substantially the same as that of Herodotus. Homer would have understood with a perfectly sufficient accuracy the meaning of the glosses which are not ornamental epithets, learning them, as we do, from the context, but better than we can, for he would have seen them used infinitely more frequently and more variedly. This process of learning the meaning from the context is indeed the very thing we constate so abundantly at other periods in the case of those Homeric (or more exactly epic) glosses which we find in the verses of later poets. The list of epic-tragic and epic-poetic words which have no corresponding elements in styles more closely related to the spoken language is long: ἦτορ (Sim., Pind., Aesch.), θύελλα (Aesch., Soph.), θυοσκόος (Eur.) μάρπτω (Archil., Pind., Aesch., Soph., Eur., Ar., Anth. Pal.), ματεύω (Pind., Soph., Aesch., Ar., Theocr.), ὄβριμος (Pind., Aesch., Eur.), etc., etc. A striking example is furnished by the adoption by later poets of words containing the ancient glossic element νη-: νημερτής (Aesch., Soph., Ap. Rh.), νήνεμος (Aesch., Eur., Ar.,

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and once even in Aristotle and Plutarch), νηλεής (Pind., Aesch., Soph., Eur., Epigr. Gr.), etc.

* * *

There is a second way in which one might explain how Homer knew the true signification of the ornament glosses: it could have been handed down in writing, or as an oral tradition, by the corporation of Singers. But there is not the slightest evidence in the scholia or in any ancient writer which would confirm such an explanation, improbable enough in itself. Accordingly if there had been such a tradition it was completely lost between the time of Homer and the beginnings of critical study of Homeric language, which we find already developed in the fifth century.[9] This is the sort of theory to which one would resort only when all other explanations had failed.

* * *

It is not yet definitely established to what extent the diction of Homer, taken as a whole, is formulaic and traditional. The complexity of the ideas of the epos, and the comparatively small amount of poetry which we possess, render impossible the complete analysis of a technique of composition which must be as varied as the thought it is designed to express. Only in the case of the ornamental epithets does an abundance of material render possible a quantitative analysis which indicates that they are probably all traditional.[10]

The ornamental epithet is always a fixed epithet, for its quality of ornament derives solely from the fact that it has been used repeatedly in conjunction with a certain noun and without reference to the thought of the sentence where it appears.[11] This repeated use is determined chiefly by the factor of metrical convenience; for the fixed epithet plays an important part in the traditional technique of epic composi-

[9] As is indicated by the fragment of Aristophanes (222 Hall).

[10] Parry, *op. cit.* pp. 99 ff.

[11] *Ib.* pp. 156 ff.

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tion which Homer followed: it combines with the noun to form a noun-epithet formula of a certain metrical value.[12] The uses of noun-epithet formulae are varied and many, but their common utility lies in the fact that they fill exactly a certain portion of the verse where the noun, or its synonym, would not fit. The technique of the use of the fixed epithet as we find it in Homer reveals plainly an ancient and intense development. In those cases where the importance of a word, or of a category of words, has brought about its use frequently, and in different combinations of words, we find that the noun-epithet formulae constitute systems characterized by a great complexity and by a strict economy.[13] For example, in the case of the 37 most important characters of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* we find that each has a noun-epithet formula which fills the hexameter exactly between the feminine caesura and the verse end (πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς (38 times), διάκτορος Ἀργειφόντης, etc.): in the number of such formulae lies the complexity of the system. On the other hand we find for these 37 characters only forty different formulae of the measure in question; that is to say, in the case of 33 of them, no matter how often they may be mentioned, the poet uses only one formula which fills the verse between the feminine caesura and the verse end: in this lack of formulae which could replace one another lies the economy of the system. It is this character of the system which is the proof of its integral antiquity. Such a system could not be the work of a single poet: it must represent the effort of generations of Singers, ever seeking and ever guarding the convenient expression, and using it when found, to the exclusion of all other formulae which could replace it. This system of noun-epithet formulae of the characters, in the nominative, falling between the feminine caesura and the verse end, is only one of the many which go to make up the technique of the use of the fixed epithet in the traditional

[12] *Ib.* pp. 11 ff. and 50–51.

[13] "Par une grande extension et par une grande simplicité," *ib.* p. 7, cf. pp. 20–23.

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style: a complete description of this technique must necessarily be as long as the technique is complex.[14]

Now when one has seized the conception of a traditional and formulaic technique of verse-making, the presence of the ornament glosses in Homer has been explained. The epic poets over the generations guarded those words which, though they had passed from current usage, were yet metrically convenient, or, to be exact, were now metrically indispensable. Certainly the fact that these old words had a special poetic quality must not be neglected; it was one of the factors making their survival possible, but this semantic consideration is dominated by that of metrical convenience, as is proved by the economy of the formulaic systems. We can well see, in the case of the noun-epithet formulae, how deeply rooted was the tendency to preserve the gloss for its metrical convenience. Εὐρύοπα is an epithet of much-discussed meaning, of an Aeolic ending. It is always joined in Homer with Ζεύς, to form the formula εὐρύοπα Ζεύς which fills the hexameter between the bucolic diaeresis and the verse end (14 times), as does μητίετα (μητίετα Ζεύς, 18 times), a word somewhat clearer in meaning, but also Aeolic in form. The two formulae differ by the very important element of the initial sound; in no case could they replace each other; and we find in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* no other noun-epithet formula which could replace either. The number of cases where one or the other of the formulae has helped the poet to complete his verse indicates their usefulness. Imagine, then, a poet who, dissatisfied with the ancient formula, wished to abandon it (this first supposition is difficult in itself). Not only would he have to renounce a traditional word consecrated by usage; he would, which is more tangible, be obliged to find an epithet of the same metrical value, that of a first paeon, and beginning and ending with the same metrical element. But in no case could he find in Ionic an epithet ending, in the masculine nominative, with a short vowel. Nor can Ζεύς be placed first, after the bucolic

[14] *Ib.* pp. 23–24.

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diaeresis, since its initial consonant would necessarily make position, and might occasion the serious fault of overlengthening.[15] It cannot be asserted that it would be impossible to create in Ionic, for the king of the gods, other noun-epithet formulae of the metrical values of εὐρύοπα Ζεύς and μητίετα Ζεύς; but such formulae must be paraphrases.[16] And then too what immeasurable difficulty there would be in finding an expression which would equal εὐρύοπα or μητίετα in the quality of σεμνότης. Thus μητίετα, an Aeolic form, and εὐρύοπα, an ornament gloss, survived.[17]

* * *

Did Homer, then, accept blindly, as an unchangeable part of the traditional style which he inherited, a large number of words concerning whose meaning he was completely ignorant? We have seen that in the case of the other glosses he was instructed by the context, but that this source of knowledge is barren for the ornament glosses.

It may be considered as certain that Homer thought he understood the ornament glosses: it is not possible that as an ἀοιδός, as an *homme de métier*, he should not have had some explanation for each one of them. But his method of explaining them must have been radically different from that which has been followed in the etymological studies which in the last fifty years have been inspired by the perfection of the comparative method. For Homer, if we are to assign him to a point of time anywhere near the historical period of Greek literature, can only have explained the words in question by associations, however far-fetched, with words of which he knew the signification. His etymological science, for such it may be called, must have been dominated at every point by the principle of analogy; it is very doubtful if the conception

[15] *Ib.* p. 52.

[16] *Ib.* pp. 72 and 93–94.

[17] For the analysis of similar cases where the poet was, to all purposes, obliged to retain the ancient formula, see Parry, *Les formules et la métrique d'Homère*, Paris, 1928, pp. 45 ff.

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of phonetic alteration could have entered into it at all. The ancients explained μώνυχες as formed by haplology from μόνος and ὄνυξ; Homer must have understood the word similarly. The fact that the word probably had an earlier form * σμῶνυξ, * σμ—being the reduced form of I.E. * σεμ—'one', can have had no bearing on his comprehension of the epithet. For ἰόμωροι, an epithet of the Argives used in Δ 242 and Ξ 479, the scholiast gives the explanation "famed for their arrows," a signification which certain moderns would deny because the initial vowel of ἰός, 'arrow,' is long. It is possible that this difference of quantity would prove the falsity of the scholiast's explanation as giving the *original* signification, but such must in all probability have been Homer's comprehension of the word, based on an association with the ideas found in ἐγχεσίμωρος and ὑλακόμωρος. In his discussion of the epithet ἰόεντα, a *hapax* joined in Ψ 850 with σίδηρον, Boisacq has done well to approve the derivation from ἴον, 'violet,' rather than to attempt, like Fick, to find a meaning 'subject to rust' (how inappropriately!) based on Sanskrit and Latin forms signifying 'poisonous.' Likewise διάκτορος must have been associated with ἄγω rather than with κτέρας. ἀργεϊφόντης was probably the 'slayer of Argos,' though it might also have been given the other explanation which is furnished by the scholia: ἀργὸς καὶ καθαρὸς φόνου. It is evident that what we need here, in order to reconstruct the meaning which Homer gave to the ornament glosses, is not a rigid science of etymology, but a working out of the popular method.

* * *

And yet one would err seriously were he to consider that the epic poet gave to the ornament glosses a sense similar to that which he gave to words embodying a part of the essential thought. The characteristic sense of the ornamental epithet differs profoundly from that of the words which carry ahead the movement of the poem; for the ornamental epithet does not have an independent existence. It is one with its noun,

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with which it has become fused by repeated use, and the resulting noun-epithet formula constitutes a thought unit differing from that of the simple noun only by an added quality of epic nobility.[18] The meaning of the fixed epithet has thus a reduced importance: it is used inattentively by the poet, and heard by the auditor in a like manner; it is a familiar word on which the mind need not dwell, since its idea has no bearing upon that of the sentence. It is this circumstance of the indifference of the auditor to the signification of the epithet which explains how the poet has often come to use it irrationally (*φαεινὴν . . . σελήνην*, Θ 555, *ἀμύμονος Αἰγίσθοιο*, *α* 29);[19] how he can allow himself to use it invariably under certain conditions (the type-hemistich *τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα*, in 251 cases out of 254, is completed by a noun-epithet formula filling the rest of the verse);[20] how he can use it disproportionately with certain nouns in certain grammatical cases (Odysseus is *δῖος* 99 times in the nominative, and only once in an oblique case); how the poet can repeatedly use epithets of vague connotation (*δαίφρων*, *μεγάθυμος*); and finally, in the case of the present problem, how he can use as epithets words which are comprehended only by more or less distant associations with other words, and to which he is often forced to attach a meaning very remote from the main current of his thought. The meaning 'abandoned even by goats,' which was probably given to *αἰγίλιπος*, 'ox-eyed' for *βοῶπις*, 'slayer of Argos' for *ἀργειφόντης*, when used in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* led the mind far from the path where it was closely following the rapid movement of the story. It is not that this quality of remoteness is exclusive to the ornament glosses; many other epithets of certain meaning possess it equally—*ποδάρκης* of Achilles, *λευκώλενος* of Hera, *νεφεληγερέτα* of Zeus. But this inattentiveness of the auditor for the meaning of all ornamental epithets allows him to pass rapidly over the ornament glosses, feeling in them only an element which ennobles the

[18] Parry, *L'Épith. trad.* pp. 156 ff.

[19] *Ib.* pp. 150 ff.

[20] *Ib.* pp. 17 and 172 ff.

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heroic style. They are words, it is true, for whose comprehension he must perform an etymological exercise of the mind; if he would realize their meaning as he hears them in a Singer's verses, he must turn his thought aside for them. But his familiarity with them, his habit of hearing them joined with certain nouns, absolves him from doing this: they are remote words, and he accepts them as such. He is fully alive to their sense, but scarcely heedful of their meaning. And so we come to Aristotle: "Thus one's style should be unlike that of ordinary language, for if it has the quality of remoteness it will cause wonder, and wonder is pleasant." [21]

[21] *Rhet.* 1404b10. διὸ δεῖ ποιεῖν ξένην τὴν διάλεκτον· θαυμασταὶ γάρ τῶν ἀπόντων εἰσὶν [ἄνθρωποι], ἡδὺ δὲ τὸ θαυμαστόν ἐστιν.

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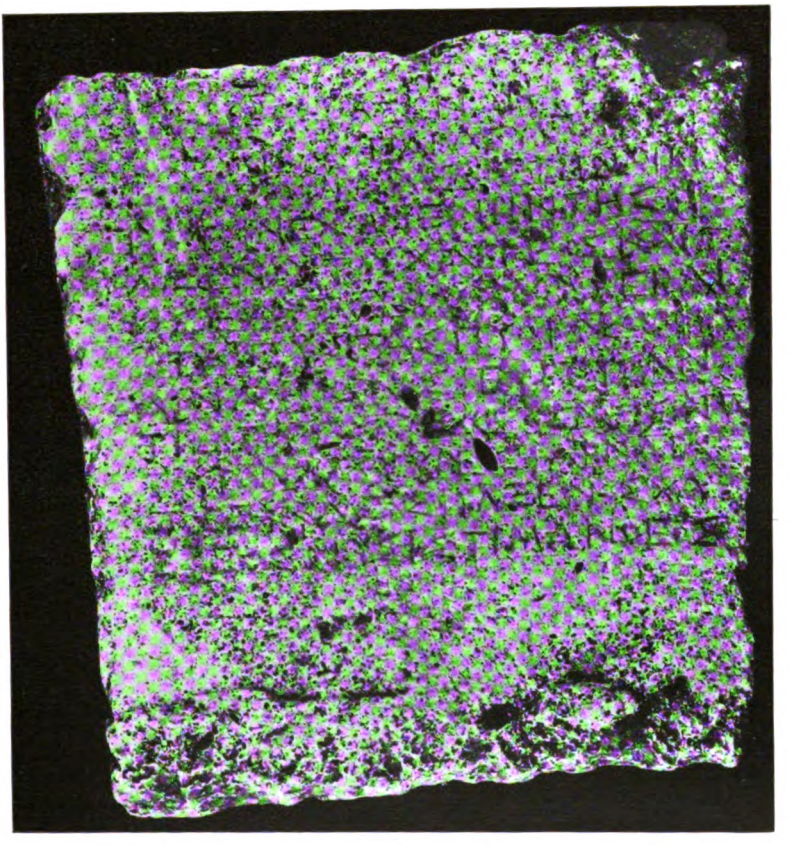

Inscription from Olynthus

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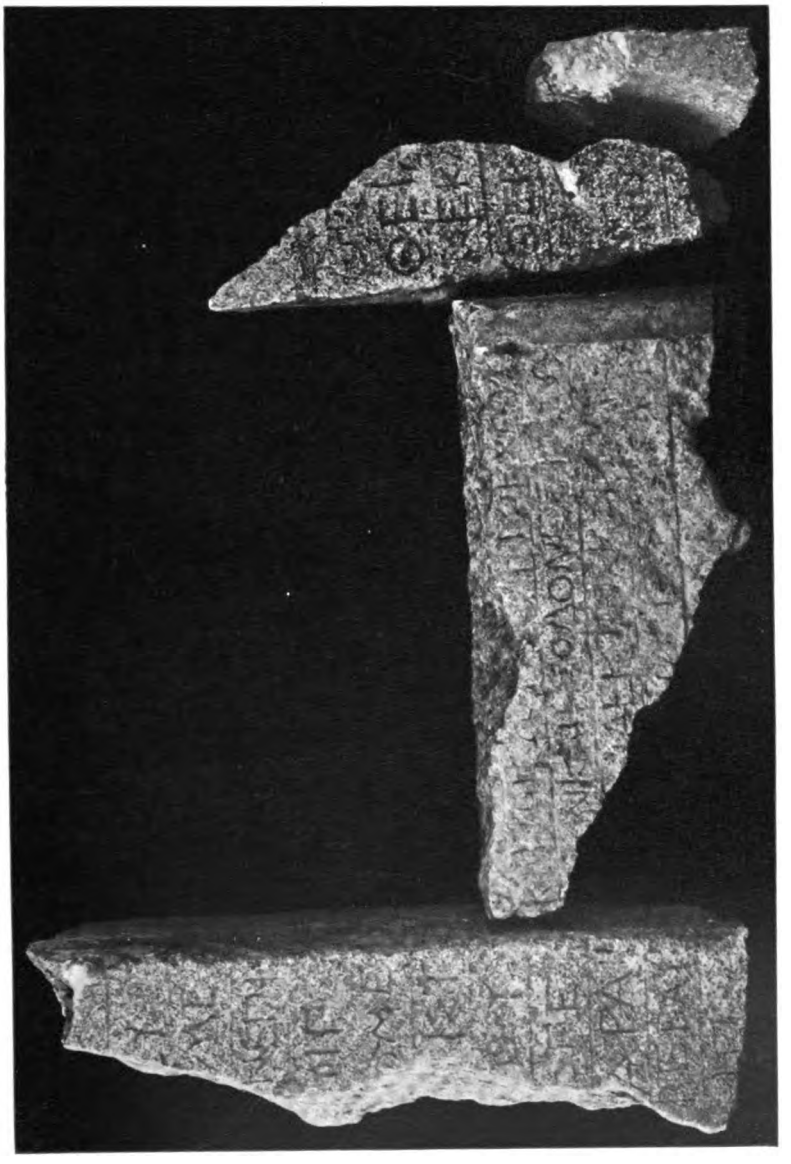

Fragments of Inscription from Olynthus

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SIXTIETH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

ALSO OF THE THIRTIETH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

Philological Association of the Pacific Coast

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AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

I. PROGRAM

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27

JOINT SESSION WITH THE LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA, 2.00 P.M.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK
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Some Nouns of Relationship in Lycian and Hittite (p. 48)

GRACE HARRIET MACURDY
Homeric Personal Names of the Short Form

E. ADELAIDE HAHN
A Study of Zeugma in Virgil[1]

PHILIP K. HITTI
Arabic Words in the English Language

DAVID MOORE ROBINSON
A Record of Sale from Olynthus (p. 225)

PHILIP BARROWS WHITEHEAD
A New Method of Studying the Caesura: the Caesura in Latin Pentameter (read by E. H. Sturtevant; p. xxi)

NORMAN W. DEWITT
Latin **licio* 'strike' (read by title)

JOINT SESSION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA, 8.30 P.M.

CLARENCE POWERS BILL
Tracking the Greeks[1]

[1] To be published in the *Classical Journal*.

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FRIDAY, DECEMBER 28

SECOND SESSION, 9.30 A.M.

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E. ADELAIDE HAHN
Pietas vs. Violentia in the *Aeneid* (p. xxii)

ERNEST L. HIGHBARGER
Literary Imitation in the *Theognidea*[3] (p. xxiii)

JOSHUA WHATMOUGH
An Inscribed South Italian Amphora in the Metropolitan Museum[4]

MARK HARVEY LIDDELL
Vocis Flexus in Latin (p. 5)

HOMER FRANKLIN REBERT
The Felicity of *Infelix* in Virgil's *Aeneid* (read by title; p. 57)

GERTRUDE M. HIRST
A Discussion of Some Passages in the Prologue to the *Georgics* (*Georgics* I, 1–42) (read by title; p. 19)

JOHN BOWEN EDWARDS
The Irony of Catullus 45 (read by title; p. xxiii)

THIRD SESSION, 2.00 P.M.

HARRY JOSHUA LEON
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ANDREW RUNNI ANDERSON
Alexander at the Caspian Gates, Gog and Magog (illustrated) (p. 130)

FRANKLIN PLOTINUS JOHNSON
Χθαμαλὴ Ἰθάκη (p. xxiv)

[2] To be published in a volume of studies on the *Aeneid*.
[3] To be published in the *American Journal of Philology*.
[4] Published in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXIX, 1–6.

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ALFRED PAUL DORJAHN
Extenuating Circumstances in Athenian Courts (p. xxiv)

SAMUEL LOOMIS MOHLER
Notes on Public Meals (p. xxv)

CHARLES ALEXANDER ROBINSON, JR.
The Seer Aristander[5] (read by title; p. xxv)

WALTER WOODBURN HYDE
Alpine Routes Known to the Romans (read by title)

JOHN DAY
The Phaleric Wall (read by title; p. 164)

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29

FOURTH SESSION, 9.30 A.M.

CHARLES LAWTON SHERMAN
The *Constitutio Antoniniana* in the Light of the ΓΝΩΜΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΙΔΙΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ (p. 33)

KENNETH SCOTT
Octavian's Propaganda and Antony's *De sua ebrietate*[6] (p. xxvi)

MARBURY BLADEN OGLE
The Discovery of the Wonder Child (p. 179)

EVA MATTHEWS SANFORD
Some Literary Interests of Fifteenth Century Students (p. 72)

CALEB RICHMOND HARDING
A Review in Criticism of Eduard Norden's *Agnostos Theos* (p. xxvi)

MILMAN PARRY
Did Homer Understand the Epic γλῶτται? (read by title; p. 233)

RUTH ELLIS MESSENGER
Hymns and Sequences of the Sarum Use; an Approach to the Study of Medieval Hymnology (read by title; p. 99)

[5] To be published in *American Journal of Philology*.
[6] Published in *Classical Philology*, XXIV, 133–141.

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FIFTH SESSION, 2.30 P.M.

ELIZABETH HAZELTON HAIGHT
Elements of Romance in Parthenius, Gallus, and Propertius (p. xxvii)

BEN EDWIN PERRY
Chariton and his Romance from a Literary Point of View (p. xxvii)

CLINTON WALTER KEYES
Apollo and Athena in the *Rhesus*[7] (p. xxviii)

HERMANN LLOYD TRACY
The Implicit Stage Directions in Euripides (p. xxix)

JOHN BOWEN EDWARDS
Attic Cult and Legend in the Athenian Dramatists, Part I: Aeschylus (p. xxx)

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON
The Personality of Mani, the Founder of Manichaeism[8] (read by title)

HERBERT C. LIPSCOMB
Horace and the Poetry of Austin Dobson[9] (read by title)

ROY CASTON FLICKINGER
Indefinite *Quis* and Horace, *Sat.* II. 1, 37[10] (read by title)

ADALAIDE R. JONES
Notes on the Latinity of *Apollonius of Tyre* (read by title)

EVAN T. SAGE
Critical Notes on Petronius (read by title)

[7] Published in *Classical Philology*, XXIV, 204–207.
[8] To be published in his forthcoming book on Manichaeism.
[9] Published in *American Journal of Philology*, L, 1–20.
[10] To be published in the *Classical Journal*.

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II. MINUTES

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK CITY
JOINT SESSION WITH THE LINGUISTIC SOCIETY

Thursday afternoon, December 27.

The sixtieth annual meeting was called to order at 2.00 o'clock P.M., in the Lecture Hall of the Metropolitan Museum of Art by the President of the Association, Clarence Powers Bill of Western Reserve University. About 150 were in attendance.

The President announced the appointment of the following committees: to audit the treasurer's accounts, L. A. Post and L. R. Shero; on the place of the next meeting, Campbell Bonner, Elizabeth H. Haight, B. L. Ullman; on resolutions, A. M. Harmon, E. Adelaide Hahn and B. D. Meritt.

The session was devoted to the reading of papers.

COLONIAL ROOM, PARK CENTRAL HOTEL,
NEW YORK CITY

JOINT SESSION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA

Thursday evening, December 27.

President Ralph Van Deman Magoffin of the Institute introduced the President of the Association, Clarence Powers Bill, who delivered the presidential address on the subject "Tracking the Greeks." About 250 were present.

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, LECTURE ROOM
SECOND SESSION

Friday morning, December 28.

The second session opened at 9.30 A.M., President Bill presiding. The entire session was devoted to the reading of papers. About 140 were in attendance.

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Third Session

Friday afternoon, December 28.

The session was opened at 2.00 o'clock P.M. with Vice-President Tenney Frank presiding. The session was devoted to the reading of papers and there were about 140 people in attendance.

Fourth Session

Saturday morning, December 29.

The session was opened at 9.30 A.M. with President Bill presiding.

The executive committee through its Secretary, Joseph William Hewitt, reported as follows:

The work of the Secretary and Treasurer was most efficiently performed by Leroy Carr Barret during the fourteen months absence of Joseph William Hewitt from July 1, 1927 to September 1, 1928. Mr. Barret also edited Volume 58 of the *Transactions and Proceedings* and performed the hitherto unaccomplished feat of getting out the volume in May. A good volume was published at a moderate cost.

The membership has suffered rather severely from the failure of members to pay dues. Twenty-four have been dropped for this cause. As each delinquent owed $8 this represents a loss of $192; 16 others have resigned. Two of these owed $8 and should be reckoned rather as dropped. Two owed $4. Fifteen have died, as follows:

Robert Anderson
Maurice Bloomfield
Mason De Witt Gray
William Gardner Hale
Mary Jackson Kennedy
Daniel Ozro Smith Lowell
Jonas O. Notestein
Henry Spackman Pancoast
J. T. Schultz
Joachim Henry Senger
William Sloane
J. Homer Wade
Helen L. Webster
John G. White
Charles Richard Williams

The membership has remained nearly stationary. Some of our members have shown commendable interest in securing new members. The additions, however, fall far below those of last year. We must have cooperation especially from those of our members who have graduate students under their instruction.

The 1,033 members are distributed as follows:

Regular annual members	795
From the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast	81
Life members	136
Relieved from payment of dues because of age and length of membership	21
	1,033

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The membership record for the year has been as follows:

New members	49	
Reinstated	1	
Total gain		50
Members lost		
By death	15	
By resignation	16	
Dropped for failure to pay dues	24	
Members lost from P. A. P. C.	4	
Total loss		59
Net loss		9

The new members elected by the executive committee during the year are as follows:

Sister Alexine, College of Mount St. Joseph.
Mabel F. Arbuthnot, Butler University.
Clifford H. Bissell, University of California.
Henry N. Bowman, Mohonk School.
Elizabeth Crosby Bridge, Howard Seminary.
Lucy A. Brokaw, Chicago, Ill.
Rosamond Burgi, Butler University.
Fr. Frances P. Donnelly, St. Andrew-on-Hudson, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
John James Elson, Cornell University.
Helena M. Gamer, Chicago, Illinois.
Sidney P. Goodrich, Philadelphia, Pa.
E. Dorothy Graham, Tampico, Ill.
Laura C. Green, Pennsylvania College for Women.
Paul R. Hays, Columbia University.
John Lewis Walker Heller, Wesleyan University.
George W. Hinman, Phillips Academy, Andover.
Rolf Hoffman, Los Angeles, Cal.
Annette Ives, University of Southern California.
Preston Henry Brown Judd, Oak Lane Country Day School.
David B. Kaufman, University of Pennsylvania.
Watson Kirkconnell, Wesley College.
John F. Latimer, New Haven, Conn.
Sister Leona, College of Mount St. Joseph.
William F. McDonald, Cornell University.
Calvin W. McEwan, University of Pittsburgh.
Donald S. Morrow, Princeton University.
Ralph Neidig Myers, Sellersville, Penna.
Gilbert Norwood, University of Toronto.
Lionel Denis Peterkin, Cambridge, Mass.
James Eugene Pooley, University of Vermont.
Lucy E. Prichard, Huntingdon, W. Va.

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Mary M. Rennoe, Knoxville College.
Franklin Dana Rowe, New Haven, Conn.
Shipp Gillespie Sanders, University of North Carolina (life).
Fred Santee, Lehigh University.
Dorothy M. Schullian, Lakewood, O.
Ernest Findlay Scott, Union Theological Seminary.
Mabel Shaffer, Kittanning, Pa.
Robert F. Seybolt, University of Illinois (life).
Edmund Taite Silk, New Haven, Conn.
Mignonette Spelman, Berkeley, Cal.
Lillian de Blois Starr, Elmira College.
Ernest Hall Templin, University of California at Los Angeles.
Ruby R. Terrill, University of Texas.
Harold H. Tryon, Union Theological Seminary.
Linda Van Norden, Palo Alto, Cal.
Harry E. Wedeck, New York City.
Charles Bradford Welles, Yale University.
Margaret Ann Williams, Franklin College.

The following persons have become life members of the Association since January 1, 1928:
Herbert C. Lipscomb, Randolph-Macon Woman's College.
Elizabeth Perkins Lyders (Mrs.), San Francisco.
Robert F. Seybolt, University of Illinois (new).
Shipp Gillespie Sanders, University of North Carolina (new).

It was voted that the report be adopted. The Treasurer then presented the following report:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

RECEIPTS

Balance, December 15, 1927		$1,909.68
Sales of Transactions and reprints	$ 487.43	
Membership dues, annual	2,965.00	
Membership dues, life	196.00	
Initiation fees	176.00	
Income from Endowment Fund	768.03	
Sale of British bonds	313.73	
Interest on British bonds	24.75	
Dividends, H. & C. W. R. R.	6.00	
Interest on deposits	49.42	
Subscription to endowment	10.00	
Contributions	33.18	
A. C. L. S.—one half expenses of delegate	7.00	
Philological Association of the Pacific Coast: membership fees	246.42	
Total receipts to December 15, 1928		5,282.96
		$7,192.64

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EXPENDITURES

Transactions and Proceedings, Vol. LVIII.	$2,529.50	
Salary of Secretary and Treasurer (11 months) . . .	687.50	
Printing and stationery	210.35	
Postage and envelopes	109.99	
M. C. Munyan, care of stock, postage, etc.	45.76	
Express and freight	7.78	
Supplies	2.25	
Travelling expenses, L. C. Barret	83.13	
Travelling expenses, W. A. Heidel	14.24	
Travelling expenses, W. B. McDaniel	14.00	
Contribution to A. C. L. S.	51.60	
Life membership fees transferred to Endowment Fund	200.00	
Two-fifths of initiation fees	64.00	
Subscription transferred to Endowment Fund . . .	10.00	
Endowment Fund, sale of British bonds	313.73	
Checks returned.	13.00	
Refunds	2.00	
Total expenditures to December 15, 1928.		$4,358.83
Balance, December 18, 1928		2,833.81
		$7,192.64

The report of the executive committee was received and the report of the Treasurer accepted. For the nominating committee Samuel Eliot Bassett presented the following nominations: President, Tenney Frank; First Vice-President, Charles Burton Gulick; Second Vice-President, Henry Washington Prescott; Secretary and Treasurer, Joseph William Hewitt; executive committee, the above named officers and Campbell Bonner, George Depue Hadzsits, Elizabeth Hazelton Haight, Austin Morris Harmon, Ivan M. Linforth, Duane Reed Stuart, Berthold Louis Ullman; for member of the committee on publication of monographs for four years, Marbury Bladen Ogle; for representative to the American Council of Learned Societies for four years, Walton Brooks McDaniel. By vote of the Association the Secretary cast one ballot for those nominated and they were declared elected.

Elizabeth Hazelton Haight reported for the committee on place of meeting recommending the acceptance of the invitation from the Boston Society of the Archaeological Institute. This report was adopted.

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For the committee on resolutions, Austin Morris Harmon reported as follows:

Resolved, that we express to Mr. Edward Robinson as Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which has been our host here, and as chairman of the local committee, to all his associates on that committee, and to the entire staff of the Metropolitan Museum our grateful appreciation of the arrangements and the attentions which have made this meeting in every way so pleasant and so memorable; that we give particular expression of our gratitude to the Metropolitan Museum for the generous hospitality which it has manifested toward us not only by opening its galleries to us and putting its lecture rooms and other facilities at our disposal, but by entertaining us at luncheon on Friday, and by furnishing us with transportation on Thursday and Friday afternoons to the Morgan and the Frick Libraries; that, further, we extend our sincere thanks to the Pierpont Morgan Library and the Frick Art Reference Library for the welcome opportunity of examining their treasures so graciously accorded us; to the American Museum of Natural History, the Museum of the American Indian, the American Numismatic Society, and the New York Historical Society for their kindness in opening their collections to our inspection; and to the management of the Park Central Hotel, which has been our headquarters here, for courtesies and consideration shown us, and in especial for the use of their Colonial Room for our meeting on Thursday evening.

These resolutions were adopted.

The committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts reported as follows:

We have examined the accounts of the Treasurer for 1928, including the vouchers for bills paid and the statement of account in the depositary banks and find the same correct.

Signed L. A. Post, L. R. Shero } *Auditors.*

President Bill announced the receipt of a grant of $5,000 from the Carnegie Corporation for the publication of monographs. Arthur Leslie Wheeler, chairman of the committee on the publication of monographs, presented the following resolution of thanks which was adopted.

Resolved: That the American Philological Association express its thanks to the Carnegie Corporation for the grant of $5,000, to be used for the publication of monographs.

A summary of the report of Dr. George A. Plimpton, Treasurer of the Endowment Fund, was read. The entire report follows:

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THE AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION ENDOWMENT FUND
STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
DECEMBER 1, 1927, TO NOVEMBER 30, 1928

RECEIPTS

1927				
Dec. 1	Balance, New York Trust Co. . . .			$1,822.78
Dec. 1	L. C. Barrett, Memberships, etc. Dec. 23, 1926, to Nov. 30, 1927 . . .		$ 746.00	
Dec. 29	Payment—B/M Albert R. Lamb and wife due 12/28/27	$1,000.00		
	Accrued interest	4.50	1,004.50	
Dec. 30	George A. Plimpton—contribution .		100.00	
Dec. 30	Interest on deposits		3.78	
1928				
Jan. 16	Frank L. Babbott—contribution towards expense of circular letter of Jan. 6, 1928		50.00	
Jan. 17	Geo. A. Plimpton—contribution for postage of circular letter of Jan. 6, 1928, etc.		8.36	
Jan. 23	James Byrne—contribution re letter of 1/6/28		25.00	
Jan. 28	Interest on deposits		4.36	
Feb. 1	Income on B/M Manida Construction Co. to 2/1/28		55.00	
Feb. 28	Interest on deposits		4.57	
Mar. 12	Carnegie Corporation—contribution toward publication fund		5,000.00	
Mar. 29	Interest on deposits		3.99	
Apr. 6	Income on B/M Rondack Garage Corporation	60.00		
	less commission New York Trust Co.	1.20	58.80	
Apr. 27	Interest on deposits		1.69	
June 1	Income on B/M John Viviani & Son.	240.00		
	less commission New York Trust Co.	4.80	235.20	
	Accrued interest		1.17	
Aug. 2	Income on B/M Manida Corporation		55.00	
Sept. 15	Income on B/M Crosby Construction Co.	187.00		
	less commission New York Trust Co.	3.74	183.26	

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Oct. 15	Income on B/M Rondack Garage Corporation	60.00		
	less commission New York Trust Co.	1.20	58.80	
Nov. 5	J. W. Hewitt—Proceeds from sale of certain British bonds		313.73	
Nov. 30	Income on B/M John Viviani & Son.	240.00		
	less commission New York Trust Co.	4.80		
		235.20		
	Accrued interest	1.08	236.28	
	Total receipts for year ending Nov. 30, 1928			8,149.49
				$9,972.27

DISBURSEMENTS

1927				
Dec. 28	Purchase of Part. B/M Rondack Garage Corporation, 532 West 135th St. New York City due 10/9/30. Interest payable April and October 6%		$1,000.00	
	Accrued interest to date		14.50	
			1,014.50	
1928				
Jan. 17	Marion M. Shields—letters		8.36	
Mar. 16	Purchase of Part. B/M Crosby Construction Co. Inc. s/w cor. Roberts & Crosby Ave. Bronx, N. Y. C. due 3/15/32. Interest 5½% payable March and September	$6,800.00		
	Accrued interest to date	1.04	6,801.04	
May 15	L. C. Barret, Treas.—Interest earned on Endowment Fund 5/1/27 to 4/30/28		768.03	
	Total disbursements for year ending Nov. 30, 1928 . . .			8,591.93
	Balance on hand, New York Trust Co. November 30, 1928			1,380.34

William Kelly Prentice reported for the American Council of Learned Societies. Voted to receive this report.

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The Secretary read a letter from the British Classical Association. The letter, signed on behalf of the council of the Classical Association by Henry A. Omerod, its chairman, was written by Martin P. Charlesworth. The letter follows:

CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION

Dec. 8, 1928.

Dear Colleague:

Ten years have now passed since the end of the war, and on the occasion of our annual letter it may be worth while to look back and estimate how classical studies have fared during that period. At the close of a four years' desperate struggle people were more ready to swallow two curious propositions put before them, one being the advantages of a 'business' or vocational training, and the other the inutility of an academic education. In consequence the study of Latin and Greek had sunk to a low ebb, its advantages were questioned, its right to a place in any scheme of education impugned. Yet these ten years have witnessed a complete and striking reversal of opinion, due mainly to the untiring efforts of the supporters of Humanism; it is sometimes supposed to be invidious to mention names, but any notice of the great revival of interest in Classical studies would be incomplete did it not include and acknowledge gratefully the work accomplished by Dean West in the United States, and by Dr. Mackail in this country. Thanks to their courage and enthusiasm we can safely say that Classics here received a new accession of strength: the number of students in this country working at Greek and Latin in School or University has increased and is still increasing; the membership of the humanistic societies, such as the Hellenic and Roman and our own Association, has never stood higher.

But the progress I have mentioned may be regarded merely as growth in soil already favourable to such developments: even more interesting and encouraging are other and different signs. The production of Greek or Latin plays at School or University continues but there have been adaptations and remodellings as well. Such an event as the production of an up-to-date and modernised version of Aristophanes' *Birds* in Paris and Cambridge, or the publication of a *Life of Alcibiades*, by the distinguished novelist E. F. Benson, or the appearance of Clive Bell's book on *Civilisation* (which takes Periclean Athens as its text), shews that Classical art and literature have not lost one jot of their vivifying power, and that the modern world is still ready to seek aid from the ancient.

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We can therefore look back on the last ten years with satisfaction and look forward with confidence. But before closing this letter I should like to refer to a project mentioned some years before, and that is, that we have reached a stage where an effort ought to be made to secure,—if not a joint meeting,—at any rate a special session of our two societies in this country at some early date. Roman Britain is a fascinating subject, and I hope we may be able to lure you over with it!

With all good wishes,
I remain,
Yours very sincerely,
HENRY A. ORMEROD

Signed on behalf
of the Council of the C. A.

President Bill appointed as a new member of the nominating committee Frank Cole Babbitt of Trinity College.

There was some discussion of the function of the Association in conducting propaganda in favor of the Classics. Professors Harding, Hewitt, Riess, and Sihler spoke on this subject. Professor Riess suggested the preparation of abstracts of such of the papers presented at the meeting as would be of immediate value in secondary-school teaching.

Edgar Howard Sturtevant moved to refer to the executive committee the question of the possibility and the advisability of making scholarly appeal to the teachers in the secondary schools. This was voted.

Berthold Louis Ullman presented a resolution of thanks to Leroy Carr Barret for his excellent work as acting Secretary and Treasurer from July 1, 1927, to August 31, 1928. The resolution was carried.

Edgar Howard Sturtevant moved that the executive committee be requested to arrange future annual dinners more within the philological purse. This was voted.

Dr. Anna Pearl MacVay spoke enthusiastically on the Bimillennium Vergilianum. The Secretary presented a recommendation from the executive committee to the effect that the Philological Association approve the publication of a Bimillennial volume under its editorship, provided that the volume can be adequately financed by sources outside the

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Association. After considerable discussion it was voted to proceed to the reading of the papers.

The recommendation from the executive committee regarding the publication of a Bimillennial volume was re-read. A motion to adjourn was made and carried.

Fifth Session

Saturday afternoon, December 29.

The Association met at 2.30 P.M. in Classroom A. This session was devoted entirely to the reading of papers. About 110 people were in attendance.

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PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST

I. PROGRAM

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 30

FIRST SESSION, 10.30 A.M.

WILLIAM DINSMORE BRIGGS
Political Thought in Sidney's *Arcadia*

MILDRED C. STRUBLE
Rivals for Dr. Johnson

ALAN REYNOLDS THOMPSON
Farewell to Achilles

FRANCES THERESA RUSSELL
Galsworthy's Use of Irony

HERBERT B. HOFFLEIT
The Problem of Evil in Plato

SECOND SESSION, 2.00 P.M.

IVAN M. LINFORTH
The Sublime in Herodotus

JEFFERSON ELMORE
The Structure of the *Ars Poetica*

RUDOLPH ALTROCCHI
Michelino's Dante

MAHLON ELLWOOD SMITH
The Springs of Pathos, Tragedy, and Comedy in the English and Scottish Popular Ballads

MAX RADIN
Imperator

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DINNER AND SMOKER, 7.00 P.M.

President's Address

GEORGE RAPALL NOYES
The Historical Novel

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 1

THIRD SESSION, 9.30 A.M.

LEAVITT OLDS WRIGHT
The Disappearing Indicative Function of the Spanish *-ra* Verb Form in pre-Golden Age Prose

WILLIAM LEONARD SCHWARTZ
The French Pronunciation of Names of Persons

HERBERT DOUGLAS AUSTIN
The Second "Wind" of Swabia (*Par.* III, 119)

LAWRENCE M. RIDDLE
The Imprecations in Tristan's *Mariane* v. 2 and in Corneille's *Horace* IV, 5

A. LIONEL STEVENSON
A Source for Barrie's Peter Pan

PAPERS READ BY TITLE

MARY A. HILL
The Source of the "Heroic Couplet" the Elegiac Distich of Ovid

GEORGE ZINOREI PATRICK
The Religious Element in Contemporary Peasant Poetry

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II. MINUTES

The thirtieth annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast was held in the Stanford Union at Stanford University on November 30 and December 1, 1928.

After a meeting of the executive committee at 10.00 A.M., the first session was called to order by President Noyes at 10.30. The minutes of the previous annual meeting were approved as printed in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* and in the *Proceedings of the American Philological Association.*

The Secretary reported for the past year that, whereas 19 names had been added to the membership list, 24 names had been dropped,—largely for non-payment of dues, in a few cases because of removal from the coast, and in the case of one member, William D. Ward, Professor of Greek, Occidental College, because of death. The total membership for the current year is 184, a loss as compared to last year of four members.

The selection of the University of California as the next meeting place of the Association was confirmed.

The Association next considered a recommendation of the executive committee that the office of Secretary and that of Treasurer be combined, and that the sum of $50 be appropriated annually for the Secretary-Treasurer to cover stenographic help. It was informally agreed that, if the nominating committee saw fit, this consolidation might be made for the year 1928–29, and the Secretary gave notice of an amendment to the Constitution to be voted upon a year hence, altering the words in Section 1, Article II, "a Secretary and a Treasurer," to read, "and a Secretary-Treasurer," and in Section 2, Article II, deleting the words, "of nine."

The report of the Treasurer, C. C. McCown, was next heard. Subject to the approval of the Auditing Committee, the report was approved and placed on file as follows:

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RECEIPTS

Balance, Nov. 25, 1927	$464.81	
Receipts from members	850.20	
Interest on deposits	18.13	
Total receipts		$1,333.14

TOTAL EXPENDITURES

Expenditures	$997.57	
Balance in bank	335.57	
Total credits		1,333.14

EXPENDITURES ITEMIZED

Treasurer:		
Stamped envelopes	5.50	
Addressing envelopes	2.75	
Printing notices	5.75	
		14.00
Secretary:		
Envelopes and postage.	11.81	
Printing notices	14.50	
Addressing notices	7.50	
Postage on programs	3.51	
Printing programs	78.50	
		115.82
Memberships paid to M. L. A.		508.33
Memberships paid to A. P. A.		246.42
Bills at Faculty Club		2.00
Annual meeting		10.00
Special monograph fund, M. L. A.		100.00
Total		$ 997.57

The President announced the appointment of the following members to serve on committees:

Nominating: McKinlay (1 yr.), Briggs (2 yrs.) Linforth (3 yrs.).
Auditing: L. M. Price, Austin.
Social: Foster (chairman), Durham, Cooper.

The gathering turned now to the reading and discussion of papers, which were presented according to the printed program. The number of those in attendance at the morning session was 58.

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The second session of the Association convened at 2.00 P.M. The program as printed was adhered to. There were some 55 members in attendance.

The annual banquet, the hour for which had been advanced from 7.00 to 6.30 P.M., was attended by 54 members. President Noyes' address on *The Historical Novel* was followed by enjoyable after-dinner speeches by Professors Craig and Altrocchi. Professor Briggs presided as toastmaster.

At the third session, which convened at 9.30 A.M., Saturday, there were some 26 members in attendance. The papers were presented according to program, except that paper number 12, by Professor L. O. Wright, was read in his absence by Professor E. C. Hills. The society turned its attention, in the middle of the program, to a few matters of business. The Auditing Committee rendered its report approving the accounts of the treasurer. The Nominating Committee proposed the following officers for the ensuing year:

President: Aurelio Macedonio Espinosa.
First Vice-President: Rudolph Schevill.
Second Vice-President: William Diamond.
Secretary-Treasurer: A. Lionel Stevenson.
Executive Committee: The above named officers and Arthur G. Kennedy, Herbert Douglas Austin, Benjamin Oliver Foster, Charles Bertie Gleason.

There were no further nominations and the Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot for the names presented by the committee.

Professor E. C. Hills proposed that the customary two day program be consolidated into a one day session with section meetings. After considerable discussion, the matter was referred to the Executive Committee for its consideration and action.

Upon conclusion of the program, adjournment took place at 11.40 A.M.

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ABSTRACTS

1. *An Early Use of the Accentual Clausula*, by Charles Upson Clark, North Hatley, Quebec.

An independent investigation has convinced me that Professor A. C. Clark was correct in finding that Petronius already made use of the accentual rhythm in clause endings, though not as slavishly as the prose writers of the fourth and fifth centuries. Indeed, it is probable, as Professor Clark suggests, that he varied the system of rhythm according to his subject matter. Interesting is the apparent fact that Petronius used elision in the clausulae; Ammianus, for instance, does not regard it. Evidently the whole question of the encroachment of the accentual upon the quantitative clausula must be taken up again. It offers a fruitful field for the scholar, and will incidentally throw new light on the pronunciation of Latin.

2. *A New Method of Studying the Caesura*, by Philip Barrows Whitehead, Clarendon, Vermont. (Read by Edgar Howard Sturtevant.)

The paper presented a new method for determining whether the caesura in Latin hexameter and pentameter was a pause. The method is to study the combinations of consonants which arise when one word ends in a consonant and the next begins with a consonant. It was found, for example, that a word ending in S is practically never followed by a word beginning with N except when a sense pause intervenes. From this it appears that the consonant sequence S N was disagreeable to the Roman ear and was carefully avoided by the poets. In some instances, as in the phrase *Cui sis nupta* (*Met.* VI. 634), it seems to have been used intentionally to heighten the emotional tone of the passage. Now, if the metrical divisions of the verse were marked by pauses in reading, this unpleasant consonant sequence would be as frequent at the caesura as at the sense pauses. But as a matter of fact it was found that all the consonant sequences which are infrequent between words not separated by a pause were equally rare at the caesura and at the end of the line, except when these metrical divisions of the verse coincided with sense pauses.

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3. *The Allies of Aeneas,* by Catharine Saunders, Vassar College.

This paper is an attempt to discover the basis on which Vergil chose the towns and peoples represented in the catalogue of *Aen.* x, 166–214.

The Etruscan towns mentioned are not always among the earliest or most important in Etruria; their friendly relation with Rome in historic times seems to be the characteristic that is most nearly common to them.

The ancients appreciated the basic nature of the Ligurian stock in Italy, which is now accepted by archaeologists.

That Mantua was included merely because of Vergil's birth in that region seems unlikely; there is already some ground for von Duhn's conjecture that, after the founding of Felsina, Mantua lay on important trade routes to the Alps and the Adriatic and was not in those early times the *parva Mantua* of Martial's epigram (XIV, 195).

4. *Pietas vs. Violentia in the Aeneid,* by E. Adelaide Hahn, Hunter College.

The epithets *pius* and *violentus,* associated with Aeneas and Turnus, characterize in general those arrayed for and against Aeneas, respectively.

The gods.—Venus works with Jupiter and the fates; whereas Juno tries to thwart and circumvent them. Venus saves Aeneas from being *impius,* and Apollo removes Ascanius from brutalizing war; whereas Juno seeks to preserve Turnus's life at the cost of his honor, persuades Aeolus to insubordination against Neptune, urges the Italians to violate a treaty, and has as her messenger a Fury.

The peoples.—The Trojans consult and obey the gods, and maintain honorable relations with all nations. Contrast with them: (1) the Greeks, treacherous or impious; (2) the Carthaginians, tricky, and violating hospitality; (3) the Italians: the behavior of Turnus and Latinus.

Individuals.—Practically all Turnus's allies (except Lausus) share his failings. With the noble Evander, contrast not only the vacillating Latinus, but also Mezentius, *contemptor divum.* Amata and Turnus are sought by the Fury as fit subjects. Even the appealing Camilla is far from faultless: her ancestry is bad, and she herself is both boastful and greedy, and her death is due to

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her lust for spoils. (This last is true of the Trojan Euryalus too; but his case is somewhat different.) Dido is characterized by *furor* as Turnus is by *violentia.*

5. *Literary Imitation in the Theognidea,* by Ernest L. Highbarger, Northwestern University.

The paper continues the discussion begun in a preliminary article published in *T.A.P.A.* LVIII, 170–198.

The most important passages in the *Theognidea* that are said to resemble passages in Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus, and Solon are examined and are found to be genuine poems of Theognis but in the nature of literary imitations of those earlier poets. The same method shows that Theognis imitated Homer and Hesiod, also, in two famous passages.

Greek literary theory recommended such close imitation of earlier masters as the path leading even to the sublime style. But literary imitation and plagiarism are carefully distinguished. In some cases, too, Theognis seems to be combating his predecessors, a very common practice in antiquity, used by Solon, Aeschylus, and Pindar.

Such a study has an important bearing on the question whether the *Theognidea* represent an anthology. The supposed "collector," who is often said to be responsible for the present *Theognidea,* is Theognis himself. The *Theognidea* do not conform to the leading features of any extant anthology, including the papyri, for no poet's name is mentioned in the passages here discussed, and the writers imitated are all earlier than Theognis. Theognis would draw freely from Solon in particular for several reasons.

6. *An Inscribed South Italian Amphora in the Metropolitan Museum,* by Joshua Whatmough, Harvard University.

(No abstract furnished.)

7. *The Irony of Catullus 45,* by John Bowen Edwards, Wells College.

Cupid's gesture in Catullus 45 may be understood from the Greek belief. Illuminating passages are Homer, *Od.* XVII, 539 ff.; Xenophon, *Anab.* III, 2, 9; Plutarch, *Them.* 13. Sneezing after the lovers' utterances was a good omen, signifying also that their words would be fulfilled. But Cupid sneezed this favorable approval *sinistra ut ante,* which was less favorable. At lovers'

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perjuries Jove laughs. Cupid sneezes over the left *ut ante*—so frequent an *ut ante* that the proverb arises, Ἀφροδίσιος ὅρκος οὐκ ἐμποίνιμος. This interpretation requires no textual emendation, applies to both speeches, finds slight but cumulative support in the usage of Catullus and other Roman poets writing of love and "favorable omens." Though the piece is referred to Catullus's last unhappy year it is ironical without being bitter. Whereas

> Love who had often, often heard such passionate protestation
> Gave (over the left, as he'd done before) a sneeze of approbation,

the poet asks with a smile

> Who ever saw two mortals more completely blessed? whoever
> Saw a love which gave better promise than theirs to last (a promise?) forever?

The lovers themselves believe; only Love and the poet know.

8. Χθαμαλὴ Ἰθάκη, by F. P. Johnson, Duke University.

Χθαμαλὴ is a natural adjective to describe Ithaca as seen from the east; and the rest of ι, 21–27, except for the spurious line 24, well expresses the impressions of a traveler arriving from the east.—Mr. Brewster's theory (that Leukas is Same, Arkoudi Asteris) permits a better interpretation of Athena's directions to Telemachos than has been suggested. The islands of ο, 33, are the islets along the coast of Acarnania.—Dörpfeld has found that hogs used to be pastured in the southern part of Leukas, but otherwise his investigations in that island have furnished no support for the equation Leukas-Ithaca. His finds in the Nidri plain are earlier than the traditional date of Odysseus.

9. *Extenuating Circumstances in Athenian Courts*, by Alfred Paul Dorjahn, Northwestern University.

In this paper an attempt is made to assemble and classify the material found in the Attic Orators bearing on the question of extenuating circumstances. This study reveals, first, what sort of items litigants offered as extenuating circumstances and, second, what the general attitude of the court was in giving heed to excuses which they were not legally bound to accept.

The major part of this paper is devoted to a discussion of extenuating circumstances under the following heads: homicide, anger and various passions, intoxication, youth, fear and compulsion, poverty and physical infirmity, ignorance and inexperience,

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occasion of crime and status of offender, relationship, first offense and recidivism.

A brief statement comparing the employment of extenuating circumstances in ancient Athens and in the tribunals of today concludes the paper.

10. *Notes on Public Meals*, by Samuel Loomis Mohler, Franklin and Marshall College.

In spite of the large number of inscriptions recording *epula* and *sportulae* in connection with the celebration of statue-dedications, birthday anniversaries, and the meetings of *collegia*, our knowledge of such functions is unsatisfactory. One of the most fundamental questions involved concerns the disposition of the sums of money mentioned in such expressions as *sportulas denarios singulos dedit.* Examination of a number of inscriptions, including the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* and the *Lex Collegi Aesculapi et Hygiae*, indicates that the money was distributed as a tip or favor, and had no relation to the value of the food served. Provision for food and drink was usually so meagre that we must assume that the "guests" were largely dependent on what they brought for themselves; from Juvenal's reference to smoking *sportulae* we infer that they enjoyed real meals, instead of picnic lunches. Bread and wine were frequently supplied by the host, but in at least one community the *Augustales* were accustomed to "carrying their own." The distribution of cash at these "banquets" constituted their chief attraction, and is given corresponding prominence in the records. It also led to excesses in both public and private entertaining which Domitian and Trajan tried to restrict.

11. *The Seer Aristander*, by Charles Alexander Robinson, Jr., Brown University.

Aristander seems to have been the most important seer connected with Alexander's army in Asia. There are a good many references to him by the secondary historians, chiefly Arrian, Curtius, and Plutarch, but none may be referred to any time after the year 327. It was in this year that Callisthenes, the official historian of the expedition, ceased writing. The references to Aristander serve as one more proof that the history of Callisthenes, so far as it went, was the ultimate source for later historians.

12. *Alpine Routes Known to the Romans*, by Walter Woodburn Hyde, University of Pennsylvania.

(No abstract furnished.)

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13. *Octavian's Propaganda and Antony's De sua ebrietate,* by Kenneth Scott, Yale University.

Antony was identified with Dionysus-Osiris in the East because association with the popular Dionysiac cult offered political advantages and marked Antony as successor of the Hellenistic kings. Rose believes that Octavian feared the influence of Antony-Dionysus after Antony's death and that Octavian set afoot stories to show that Antony was deserted by Dionysus just before his death. This view of Octavian's propaganda is disproved by Dio, who shows that Octavian ridiculed Antony's identification with Dionysus. Antony was even forced to defend himself in his *De sua ebrietate* against Octavian's attacks. The tale of Dionysus's departure probably originated among the Alexandrians.

Evidence exists of bitter charges and counter charges before Actium. Octavian attacks Antony-Dionysus; Antony accuses Octavian of impersonating Apollo and of holding with his friends a mock *lectisternium.* Octavian's enemies say he is indeed Apollo, but Apollo "Tortor." So Antony's foes say he is Dionysus, but Dionysus Ὠμηστής and Ἀγριώνιος. Incidentally, Octavian's attacking the idea of a ruler as Dionysus affords the answer to a question which perplexed Riewald, who wrote, "Cum tot hellenisticorum temporum reges nomine novi Bacchi ornati sint, mirum est, quod imperatoris ei aequati ne unum quidem exstat exemplum."

14. *A Review in Criticism of Eduard Norden's Agnostos Theos,* by Caleb Richmond Harding, Davidson College.

Norden argues at length to show that the *Acts of the Apostles,* as we have it, is the work of a late editor, taking Luke's ὑπόμνημα as 'Grundschrift.' This 'Redaktor' has taken the περὶ θυσιῶν of Apollonius of Tyana as his model for Paul's Areopagus speech. Harnack in reply to Norden argues most cogently for the Lukan authorship not simply of this entire 17th chapter but practically of the whole *Acts.* The writer of this paper adds other reasons for believing that Norden is entirely in error. Not only does he fail to prove that this 'late editor' had Apollonius before him, his arguments, though ingenious and clever, being based too much on 'supposition,' but he fails to prove the 'alleged' activity of this Redaktor, especially as relating to the Proem, the Areopagus speech, the close of the book, not to mention other sections.

This paper stresses the unreliability of Philostratus's *Life of Apollonius* and the probability of 'borrowings' from Mark's and

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Luke's Gospels. In many instances Luke's undisputed ὑπόμνημα is confirmed by passages in Paul's epistles. Further multiplied details in the *Acts* argue for a much earlier date than Norden concedes and apparently leave little room for a 'late editor.'

15. *Elements of Romance in Parthenius, Gallus, and Propertius*, by Elizabeth Hazelton Haight, Vassar College.

A redefinition of the word 'romance'.

A brief summary of the elements from poetry and prose which went into the making of ancient prose fiction.

Erwin Rohde in *Die Griechische Roman* demonstrates that the lost Greek elegiac poets of the Alexandrian age contributed much to the development of ancient fiction. So too a study of romance in the Latin elegists is illuminating for the history of the Latin novel.

The known facts about Gallus and Vergil's references to him show that his lost poetry falls under our definition of romance.

The extant Love Romances of Parthenius, dedicated to Gallus, give further evidence of the stories which he used in creating a type of romantic elegiac poetry.

The poems of Propertius which adapt material from the Love Romances of Parthenius to elegiac form help us to make an imaginative reconstruction of Gallus's method of using them.

16. *Chariton and his Romance from a Literary Point of View*, by Ben Edwin Perry, University of Illinois.

Chariton has a special claim upon our interest. In the first place, his story of Chaereas and Kallirrhoe, which we now know to be the earliest complete specimen of the romance type, represents a sort of halfway point in the progress from history to pure romance. Secondly, although Chariton's work exhibits many of the worst features of the conventional type, it nevertheless shows a remarkable striving after some of the best principles of literary art. And lastly, Chariton, unlike most of his colleagues, is subjective enough and naïve enough to betray in some measure his own personality, and to set before us in bolder relief than in the other romances the type of mind of the people by whom and for whom the Greek romance was originally produced. It is with the last two topics that this paper is concerned.

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17. *Apollo and Athena in the Rhesus*, by Clinton Walter Keyes, Columbia University.

The paper points out two previously unnoticed elements in the *Rhesus*, which have a bearing on the question of its authorship.

As is well known, Euripides generally depicts Apollo unfavorably; this is seen in the *Ion*, *Electra*, *Orestes*, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, *Andromache*, and *Alcestis*. In these plays Apollo's unwisdom and ineffectiveness as a helper are emphasized, and in two cases these characteristics are contrasted with Athena's effective and willing aid to her friends.

In the *Rhesus*, the chorus makes a formal prayer to Apollo for Dolon's safe return, and the password for the night is *Phoebus*. Dolon is killed, and his assailants escape by means of the password and by the help of Athena. Later the Muse explains that Apollo will take vengeance on Athena's favorite, Achilles. This passage can be compared with *Hippolytus* 1327–1330 and 1416–1422, where the inactivity of the gods in defence and their energy in attack are developed in detail.

The attack on Apollo, and the suggestion that the gods do not defend their worshippers, but are cruel in avenging them, are characteristically Euripidean, but are too subtly introduced in the *Rhesus* to be conceivably due to an imitator of Euripides.

18. *Implicit Stage Directions in Euripides*, by Hermann Lloyd Tracy, Queen's University.

A. The references to the stage spectacle in the text are:

(1) Imaginative. Helping the audience to visualize:
  (*a*) scenery for which there were no properties;
  (*b*) by-play rendered ineffective by masks (?), distance from the audience, etc.

(2) Explanatory. Indicating for the audience names of characters, place of the action, developments of the action not clearly set forth otherwise.

(3) Practical. Prompting, or rather demanding, some pictorial or physical counterpart on the stage: viz.
  (*a*) scenery—permanent set, temporary properties, special scenery (all rare);
  (*b*) action—objects carried, dress, appearance, exits, entrances, gestures, movements, attitudes, grouping etc. (the bulk of scenic notices under this head).

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B. As proper stage directions were lacking in tragedy, did Euripides intend the last group above as practical directions for the aid of actors and producers?

(1) They must be more than natural coincidence between word and action.
(2) They cannot be intended to take the place of action; in earlier, 'static' plays of Aeschylus, and in the closet drama of Seneca, scenic allusions are almost lacking.
(3) Euripides loved the spectacular; he had a keen 'sense of the theatre'; he could scarcely avoid suggesting lively action.
(4) There is some clear evidence in the scholiasts that these passages were intended for actual stage directions.

19. *Attic Cult and Legend in the Athenian Dramatists, Part I: Aeschylus*, by John Bowen Edwards, Wells College.

Athenian tragedies were religious services for the glorification of Athens. Philochoria influences Aeschylus's choice of legend. Divinities chiefly worshipped by Athens appeal most, viz. gods with special cults in Attica and local heroes, divinities of the sea—which Athens claimed, of lands where she planted settlements, of allied countries, of gods helpful in the arts and trades.

Foreign legends are modified to exalt Attic heroes and institutions. When a hero's relics cannot be secured for Attica, he may yet, like Orestes, be brought to seek Athena's protection. Other plays deal with her favorites, Perseus and Odysseus. Artemis, also dear to Attica, has favorites, chiefly maidens, Atalanta, Iphigenia, etc. The method here was to connect myth and local cult.

Sophocles and Euripides follow Aeschylus, recognizing in their myth-making popular veneration of the heroes and belief in the *divine dynamis* of their bones. All the greater wonder, then, must one feel to observe with what supreme art these great poets reshaped the myths and the divine figures to keep pace with the growth of Athens in morals and refinement, so that their *mythopoiia* is a formative factor towards the creation of an ideal civilization.

20. *The Personality of Mani, the Founder of Manichaeism*, by A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University.

(No abstract furnished.)

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21. *Horace and the Poetry of Austin Dobson*, by Herbert C. Lipscomb, Randolph-Macon Woman's College.

I. Horace, Dobson's favorite Latin poet.
II. Evidences of the influence of Horace's ideal of art.
III. Translations and imitations of individual odes.
IV. Horatian titles and mottoes.
V. Quotations from Horace incorporated into Dobson's poems.
VI. Translations, adaptations, and imitations of Horatian phrases.
VII. Similarities in spirit.
VIII. Appendix.

22. *Indefinite Quis and Horace, Serm.* II, *1, 37*, by Roy Caston Flickinger, State University of Iowa.

The statements in Latin grammars concerning the use of indefinite *quis* are inadequate. The common rule is that *quis* occurs properly only after *si, nisi, ne,* or *num.* However accurately such a dictum may reflect the usage of some authors, it does not harmonize with the practice of Horace or Terence. It errs in saying too much and too little,—too much, at least for some authors, because it throws too much stress upon certain of the words which it reports as preceding indefinite *quis;*—too little in failing to make clear (*a*) that sometimes no introductory word is used, (*b*) that other introductory words are as common as some of those in this list, (*c*) that double occurrences of indefinite *quis* are not infrequent, and (*d*) that words (sometimes as many as four) may intervene between *quis* and the introductory word.

Finally, the question needs to be raised whether indefinite *quis* ever *precedes* the introductory word, a suggestion already cautiously advanced in explanation of *Serm.* I, 10, 22. It needs to be considered also in connection with *Serm.* II, 1, 37. The interpretation of both passages has caused a great deal of trouble, which would be largely obviated if indefinite *quis* may precede as well as follow its associated word.

23. *Notes on the Latinity of Apollonius of Tyre*, by Adalaide R. Jones, University of Pittsburgh.

(No abstract furnished.)

24. *Critical Notes on Petronius*, by Evan T. Sage, University of Pittsburgh.

(No abstract furnished.)

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL RECORD [1]

FOR THE CALENDAR YEAR 1928

PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS

A.A.—Art and Archaeology.
A.H.R.—American Historical Review.
A.J.A.—American Journal of Archaeology.
A.J.P.—American Journal of Philology.
Am.—American.
Arch.—Archaeology.
B.—Bulletin.
C.J.—Classical Journal.
C.P.—Classical Philology.
C.Q.—Classical Quarterly.
C.R.—Classical Review.
C.W.—Classical Weekly.
H.S.C.P.—Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.
J.—Journal.
J.A.O.S.—Journal of the American Oriental Society.
J.E.G.P.—Journal of English and Germanic Philology.
J.H.S.—Journal of Hellenic Studies.
J.R.S.—Journal of Roman Studies.
Lang.—Language.
Lit.—Literature.
L.C.L.—Loeb Classical Library.
M.—Magazine.
M.L.N.—Modern Language Notes.
Mo.—Monthly.
M.P.—Modern Philology.
N.I.Y.B.—New International Year Book.
P.A.P.A.—Proceedings of the American Philological Association.
P.M.L.A.—Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.
P.Q.—Philological Quarterly.
Pr.—Press.
Qu.—Quarterly.
Rev.—Review.
Rom.R.—Romanic Review.
S.P.—Studies in Philology.
Spec.—Speculum.
T.A.P.A.—Transactions of the American Philological Association.
U.—University.

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[1] A list of publications of the members during the calendar year 1928, as far as reported by them to the editor. Where the number of a volume has not been given, that for 1928 is meant.

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*Prof. Andrew Runni Anderson, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah. 1905.

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Dr. Edith A. Beck, Bradford Academy, Bradford, Mass. 1923.

Prof. William C. Beckman, The Mission House, Plymouth, Wis. 1927.

Prof. Isbon T. Beckwith, Highland Court, Hartford, Conn. 1884.

*Prof. Charles Henry Beeson, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (1228 E. 56th St.). 1897.

*Prof. Gertrude H. Beggs, University of Richmond, Richmond, Va. 1912.

Miss Ora M. Belden, Rosemary Hall, Greenwich, Conn. 1929.

*Alfred Raymond Bellinger, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (Box 1406, Yale Station). 1920.

Prof. Harold H. Bender, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1912.

Prof. Allen R. Benner, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. 1901.

Prof. Harold Bennett, Lebanon Valley College, Annville, Pa. 1921.

Miss Kathryn Bennett, 916 Edison Ave., Detroit, Mich. 1929.

Major Paul J. Benrimo, Box 383, Marion, Ala. 1921.

Miss M. Julia Bentley, Hughes High School, Cincinnati, O. (3517 Middleton Ave.). 1920.

Frank May Benton, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. (Johnson Hall). 1919.

Prof. George O. Berg, St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minn. 1909.

Pierre Arnold Bernard, Nyack, N. Y. 1913.

Prof. Lillian G. Berry, University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind. 1916.

Prof. William E. Berry, Penn College, Oskaloosa, Ia. 1924.

*Prof. Clarence Powers Bill, Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. (Life member). 1894.

Prof. Albert Billheimer, Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, Pa. 1912.

Prof. Arthur Vaughan Bishop, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. 1917.

Prof. Charles Edward Bishop, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va. 1890.

Prof. Elizabeth L. Bishop, Western College for Women, Oxford, O. 1919.

Clifford H. Bissell, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1839 Sonoma Ave.). 1928.

Mrs. Mary Leal Harkness Black, Panora, Ia. 1921.

Miss Marion E. Blake, Converse College, Spartanburg, S. C. 1925.

Dr. Warren Everett Blake, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1922.

Dr. Carl W. Blegen, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. (Life member). 1920.

Prof. Leonard Bloomfield, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1914.

†Prof. Maurice Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1882.

† Died, June 12, 1928.

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Dr. G. Alder Blumer, 196 Blackstone Blvd., Providence, R. I. 1921.
Prof. Arthur Edward Romilly Boak, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (Life member). 1920.
George Bobrinskoy, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1927.
Dean Willis Henry Bocock, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga. 1890.
Sister Mary Paschal Boillot, Dominican College, San Rafael, Cal. 1921.
Prof. George Melville Bolling, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. 1897.
Prof. Alexander Lee Bondurant, University of Mississippi, University, Miss. 1892.
Prof. Arthur Bonner, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Cal. (Pacific Manor). 1923.
*Prof. Campbell Bonner, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (1025 Martin Pl.). Life member. 1899.
Prof. Robert Johnson Bonner, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1911.
George G. Booth, 615 Lafayette Blvd., Detroit, Mich. (Life member). 1924.
Lester Kruger Born, 5515 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1929.
Prof. Benjamin Parsons Bourland, Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. 1900.
Prof. Ella Bourne, Mills College, Cal. 1916.
Prof. Edwin Winfield Bowen, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va. 1905.
Henry N. Bowman, Mohonk School, Lake Mohonk, N. Y. 1928.
Miss Blanche Boyer, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1924.
*Prof. Haven Darling Brackett, Clark University, Worcester, Mass. 1905.
Prof. Mary Victoria Braginton, Rockford College, Rockford, Ill. 1922.
Dr. Joseph Granger Brandt, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. 1916.
*Prof. Alice F. Braunlich, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. (272 Maryland Ave.). Life member. 1916.
Charles Henry Breed, Blair Academy, Blairstown, N. J. 1915.
Elinor Dorothy Breeze, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Col. 1929.
Rev. William Augustus Brewer, D.D., 728 Fairfield Rd., Burlingame, Cal. 1922.
*Prof. Ethel Hampson Brewster, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. (Life member). 1914.
Frank Brewster, 60 Ames Building, Boston, Mass. 1920.
*Miss Elizabeth Crosby Bridge, Howard Seminary, West Bridgewater, Mass. 1928.
*John Bridge, College of the City of New York, New York City. 1923.
*Dr. Josiah Bridge, Simsbury, Conn. 1921.
Prof. Anna Brinton (Mrs. Howard H.), Earlham College, Richmond, Ind. 1912.
Louis F. D. Briois, University of California at Los Angeles, Cal. 1923.
Miss Lucy A. Brokaw, 5730 Drexel Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 1928.
*Prof. Blanche Brotherton, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1921.
Thomas Robert Shannon Broughton, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1929.
Dr. Christopher G. Brouzas, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va. (Life member). 1922.

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Dr. Carroll N. Brown, College of the City of New York, New York City (Riverdale-on-Hudson). 1908.
Dr. Lester Dorman Brown, Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn. 1904.
Prof. Ruth W. Brown, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal. 1912.
Prof. W. Norman Brown, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
*Dean Carleton Lewis Brownson, College of the City of New York, New York City. 1892.
Dr. W. R. Bryan, Columbia University, New York City (419 W. 117th St.). 1921.
Prof. Carl Darling Buck, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1890.
Miss Mary H. Buckingham, 96 Chestnut St., Boston, 9, Mass. (Life member). 1897.
Dr. Theodore A. Buenger, 268 Ridge Ave., Winnetka, Ill. 1915.
Dr. Frank S. Bunnell, 251 Washington St., Norwich, Conn. 1921.
Dr. Bessie R. Burchett, 3411 Race St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1925.
Paul H. Burg, 3831 Cleveland Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1923.
Miss Rosamond Burgi, Butler University, Indianapolis, Ind. 1928.
Prof. Edmund Burke, College of the City of New York, New York City. 1921.
Prof. Robert B. Burke, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (College Hall). 1921.
*Miss Dorothy Burr, 115 S. 21st St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1925.
Prof. William S. Burrage, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt. 1898.
Dr. Eli E. Burriss, Washington Square College, New York City (32 Waverly Place). 1923.
Prof. Harry Edwin Burton, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1899.
Miss Nita L. Butler, 5537 Kentucky Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1922.
Prof. Orma Fitch Butler, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (1109 Forest Ave.). Life member. 1907.
Miss Hilda Buttenwieser, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. (Life member). 1921.
*Miss Alice Hill Byrne, Western College, Oxford, O. 1921.
Prof. Alva John Calderwood, Grove City College, Grove City, Pa. 1917.
Prof. George M. Calhoun, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (571 Euclid Ave.). 1911.
Prof. T. Callander, Queen's University, Kingston, Ont., Can. 1919.
*Prof. Donald Cameron, Boston University, Boston, Mass. 1905.
Dr. James Marshall Campbell, Sulpician Seminary, Brookland, D. C. 1923.
*Miss Mary E. Campbell, Hunter College Annex, 145 E. 32d St., New York City. 1922.
Prof. John Young Campbell, Divinity School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1925.
Miss Helen Campion, 800 Logan St., Denver, Col. (Life member). 1921.
Prof. Howard Vernon Canter, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. (Champaign, Ill.). 1921.
Dr. Harry Caplan, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (121 Goldwin Smith Hall). 1920.

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Seth Bunker Capp, Box 2054, Philadelphia, Pa. (Life member). 1914.
Prof. Edward Capps, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1889.
Prof. Frederick Mason Carey, University of California at Los Angeles, Cal. (West Los Angeles). 1922.
Prof. Marjorie Carpenter, Stephens College, Columbia, Mo. 1923.
James A. Carr, Central National Bank Building, St. Louis, Mo. 1923.
Prof. W. L. Carr, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (10 Ridgeway) 1920.
Miss Ruth Carson, Teachers College, Macomb, Ill. 1926.
*Prof. Jane Gray Carter, Hunter College, New York City. 1920.
Dr. Earnest Cary, 24 Hancock St., Boston, Mass. 1905.
William Van Allen Catron, Lexington, Mo. 1896.
Miss Emma Cauthorn, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. (401 Price Ave.). 1916.
Prof. Julia Harwood Caverno, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. (6 West St.). 1902.
Arnold B. Chace, 99 Power St., Providence, R. I. 1920.
Prof. Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass. (91 Irving St.). 1920.
Prof. Norman A. Chamberlain, College of Charleston, Charleston, S. C. 1925.
Miss Edith Chambers, Box 493, Haverford, Pa. 1924.
Prof. Angie Clara Chapin, Wellesley, Mass. 1888.
Martin P. Charlesworth, St. John's College, Cambridge, England. 1924.
Mrs. Elizabeth Shiner Chartier, 37 N. Boulevard, Gloversville, N. Y. 1923.
*Prof. Cleveland King Chase, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1911.
Prof. George Davis Chase, University of Maine, Orono, Me. 1900.
Dean George Henry Chase, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (36 Holden St.). 1899.
Prof. George Millet Chase, Bates College, Lewiston, Me. 1924.
J. C. Chatterji, International School of Vedic Research, 1500 Times Bldg., New York City.
Dr. Winthrop Holt Chenery, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1916.
Arthur S. Chenoweth, Somers Point, N. J. 1921.
Miss Helen M. Chesnutt, 9719 Lamont Ave., Cleveland, O. 1920.
Haakon V. Chevalier, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1307 Bay View Pl.). 1926.
Dr. Edward C. Chickering, Jamaica High School, Jamaica, N. Y. 1920.
Prof. Gilbert Chinard, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1912.
Rev. Joseph Patrick Christopher, Catholic University, Washington, D. C. (Caldwell Hall). 1923.
*Dr. Ethel L. Chubb, 4112 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
Prof. J. E. Church, Jr., University of Nevada, Reno, Nev. (358 Washington St.). 1922.
*Prof. Edith Frances Claflin, Rosemary Hall, Greenwich, Conn. (Life member). 1919.
*Prof. Charles Upson Clark, North Hatley, Que., Can. 1905.
*Miss Evalyn A. Clark, 467 Pearl St. S., Canandaigua, N. Y. 1925.

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Prof. Frank Lowry Clark, Miami University, Oxford, O. 1919.
Prof. Frederick William Clark, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manit., Can. 1920.
Prof. Herman A. Clark, 745 Avenue D, S. W. Winter Haven, Fla. 1920.
Prof. Sereno Burton Clark, Drury College, Springfield, Mo. 1907.
N. Y. Clauson, 143 Forest St., Oberlin, O. 1929.
*Prof. Harold Loomis Cleasby, 805 Comstock Ave., Syracuse, N. Y. 1905.
Miss Evelyn Holst Clift, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1929.
Dr. Frank L. Cloud, 1716 Nedro Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1922.
*Prof. Benjamin C. Clough, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1925.
Miss Katharine M. Cochran, 157 Oxford St., Hartford, Conn. 1914.
Ernest A. Coffin, Deerfield Academy, Deerfield, Mass. 1914.
Dr. Harrison Cadwallader Coffin, Union College, Schenectady, N. Y. 1920.
Dr. George H. Cohen, 120 Capitol Ave., Hartford, Conn. 1914.
Prof. James Wilfred Cohoon, Mt. Allison University, Sackville, N. B., Can. (Life member). 1914.
Sister Mary Columkille Colbert, Incarnate Word College, San Antonio, Tex. 1924.
Prof. Guy Blandin Colburn, State College, Fresno, Cal. (Life member). 1911.
John Kingsbury Colby, Milton Academy, Milton, Mass. 1922.
Prof. Charles Nelson Cole, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O. 1902.
Prof. Helen Wieand Cole (Mrs. S. V.), Rollins College, Winter Park, Fla. 1923.
Prof. Paul Robinson Coleman-Norton, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. (23 Linden Lane). Life member. 1923.
Mrs. Klara H. Collitz, Baltimore, Md. (1027 N. Calvert St.). 1927.
Prof. Hermann Collitz, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. (1027 N. Calvert St.). 1887.
Miss Ruth Congdon, 720 County St., New Bedford, Mass. 1921.
Prof. Elisha Conover, Delaware University, Newark, Del. 1921.
Prof. Raymond Huntington Coon, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. (1200 E. First St.). 1923.
*Prof. Lane Cooper, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (171 Goldwin Smith Hall). 1917.
Mrs. Beatrice Quijada Cornish, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1406 Hawthorne Terrace). 1925.
*Prof. Cornelia Catlin Coulter, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. (Life member). 1912.
Prof. Frank Hewitt Cowles, The College of Wooster, Wooster, O. 1916.
Prof. Edward Godfrey Cox, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1923.
Prof. Robert V. Cram, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. 1927.
F. Stuart Crawford, Jr., Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1929.
†Prof. John Raymond Crawford, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. 1912.
Mrs. F. G. Cressey, Denison University, Granville, O. 1922.
Prof. Edmund D. Cressman, University of Denver, Denver, Col. (2076 S. St. Paul St.). 1914.
Prof. Albert Robinson Crittenden, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (409 Thompson St.). 1920.

† Died, April 15, 1929.

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*Prof. William Day Crockett, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa. (226 S. Atherton St.). 1915.

Prof. William Henry Crogman, Gammon Theological Seminary, South Atlanta, Ga. 1898.

Prof. Henry Lamar Crosby, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1909.

Prof. Earl Le Verne Crum, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. 1925.

Paul Culley, Washington Square College, New York University, New York City. 1929.

Miss Jean V. N. Da Costa, care of John C. Da Costa, Box 44, Gladwyne, Pa. (Life member). 1921.

Dean John N. Daland, Milton College, Milton, Wis. 1920.

Prof. Alfred Mitchell Dame, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt. (Life member). 1911.

Leslie Dana, 1 Brentmoor Park, St. Louis, Mo. 1923.

Prof. Irville F. Davidson, St. Stephen's College, Annandale, N. Y. 1922.

Prof. Edmund Wayne Davis, Maryville College, Maryville, Tenn. 1921.

Milton C. Davis, Miller Place, Long Island, N. Y. (Life member). 1922.

*Philip Haldane Davis, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1925.

Prof. Henry S. Dawson, D'Youville College, Buffalo, N. Y. (308 West Ave.). 1922.

*John Day, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1927.

*Miss Hazel Dean, Hunter College, New York City (150 W. 104th St.). 1925.

Prof. Lindley Richard Dean, Denison University, Granville, O. 1912.

Miss Mildred Dean, 2404 Wisconsin Ave., Washington, D. C. 1920.

Prof. Sidney Norton Deane, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1912.

H. T. Deas, Caius College, Cambridge, England. 1925.

*Prof. Frank M. Debatin, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1923.

Dr. Alice A. Deckman, Kensington High School, Philadelphia, Pa. (3950 Pine St.). 1921.

Dr. Roy Joseph Deferrari, Catholic University, Washington, D. C. 1915.

Prof. Ernest Woodruff Delcamp, Transylvania College, Lexington, Ky. 1924.

Dr. C. E. Demaray, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. (1240 H. St.). 1927.

Prof. Robert E. Dengler, Pennsylvania State College, 210 South Gill St., State College, Pa. (Life member). 1918.

Prof. William K. Denison, Tufts College, Mass. (42 Fletcher St., Winchester). 1899.

*Dr. Holmes Van Mater Dennis, 3d, 22 Alexander St., Princeton, N. J. (Life member). 1921.

Dr. E. B. De Sauzé, Board of Education, Cleveland, O. 1920.

Dean Monroe Emanuel Deutsch, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (862 Arlington Ave.). 1904.

Pres. Henry B. Dewing, Athens College, Athens, Greece. 1909.

*Prof. Norman W. DeWitt, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1907.

Prof. Sherwood Owen Dickerman, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. (Life member). 1902.

Rev. Frederick Walter Augustine Dickinson, Ph.D., College of Mt. St. Joseph, Mt. St. Joseph, O. 1926.

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Prof. Thomas Wyatt Dickson, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1915.
Miss Eva Dilks, Philadelphia High School for Girls, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
*Dr. George E. Dimock, Jr., 907 N. Broad St., Elizabeth, N. J. 1913.
Miss Ellen MacKenzie Dodson, Box 408, Garden Grove, Cal. 1921.
Prof. James C. Dolley, McKendree College, Lebanon, Ill. 1920.
Sister Mary Dolorosa, Mount St. Mary's College, 3500 W. Slanson Ave., Los Angeles, Cal. 1927.
*Rev. Francis P. Donnelly, S.J., St. Andrew-on-Hudson, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1928.
Prof. Benjamin Leonard D'Ooge, State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Mich. 1895.
*Dr. Alfred Paul Dorjahn, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1922.
Prof. James Walker Downer, Baylor University, Waco, Tex. 1915.
Miss Juanita M. Downes, Cheltenham High School, Elkins Park Branch, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
Prof. Douglas Laurel Drew, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. 1924.
Prof. William Prentiss Drew, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill. 1907.
Dr. Eleanor Shipley Duckett, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. (10 West St.). 1914.
*G. Eckel Duckworth, Box 383, Princeton, N. J. 1925.
Prentice Duell, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1925.
Mrs. Prentice Duell, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1925.
Prof. Thomas Shearer Duncan, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1922.
Prof. James Eugene Dunlap, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (1418 W. Huron St.). 1921.
*Prof. Charles Love Durham, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1906.
Prof. Donald Blythe Durham, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1912.
*Prof. Emily Helen Dutton, Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va. 1898.
Prof. Herman Louis Ebeling, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. (329 Hawthorn Rd.). 1892.
Prof. William Stahl Ebersole, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Ia. 1893.
Prof. Ernest Otto Eckelman, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. (3042 E. Laurelhurst Drive). 1927.
Prof. Franklin Edgerton, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (408 Whitney Ave.). 1909.
*Dr. George V. Edwards, College of the City of New York, New York City (1737 Popham Ave.). 1921.
*Prof. John Bowen Edwards, Wells College, Aurora-on-Cayuga, N. Y. 1923.
Prof. James Chidester Egbert, Columbia University, New York City. 1889.
Rudolph A. Eifert, California Concordia College, Oakland, Cal. 1925.
Prof. Wallace Stedman Elden, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. (1734 Summit St.). 1900.
Prof. Jay Glover Eldridge, University of Idaho, Moscow, Id. 1926.
Dr. Lulu G. Eldridge, 327 W. 12th St., New York City (Life member). 1920.
*Prof. William Arthur Elliott, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. 1897.
Willis A. Ellis, Lombard, Ill. 1921.
Prof. Herbert Charles Elmer, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1887.
Prof. Jefferson Elmore, Stanford University, Cal. 1900.

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John James Elson, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (61 Goldwin Smith Hall). 1928.

M. B. Emeneau, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (Box 1910, Yale Station). 1926.

Prof. George Taylor Ettinger, Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa. 1896.

John D. Evans, Washington Square College, New York City (11 Dominick St.). 1927.

Kenneth R. Evans, 1431 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 1927.

Dr. F. X. J. Exler, St. Norbert's College, West Depere, Wis. 1924.

Dr. Arthur Fairbanks, Hanover, N. H. 1886.

Prof. Henry Rushton Fairclough, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1887.

Dean Fred L. Farley, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Cal. 1919.

William W. Farnam, 335 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn. (Life member). 1921.

Miss Elizabeth Faulkner, Faulkner School, 4746 Dorchester Ave., Chicago, Ill. (Life member). 1920.

Prof. William Scott Ferguson, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1899.

*Donald E. Fields, Lebanon Valley College, Annville, Pa. 1927.

Ruth Bates Fisch, 1889 Colonnade Road, Cleveland, O. 1929.

Frederick Perry Fish, 84 State St., Boston, Mass. (Life member). 1921.

*Prof. Edward Fitch, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1890.

Prof. Thomas FitzHugh, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. (Life member). 1902.

*Miss Hildegarde J. Fitz-Maurice, 6369 McCallum St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa. 1923.

Prof. Caroline R. Fletcher, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1906.

*Prof. Roy Caston Flickinger, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. (301 North Capitol St.). Life member. 1905.

Prof. Francis Howard Fobes, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. (Life member). 1908.

Maynard D. Follin, Box 118, Detroit, Mich. (Life member). 1922.

Prof. Clarence A. Forbes, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. (Life member). 1926.

Prof. Charles Henry Forbes, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. (Life member). 1907.

Prof. Benjamin Oliver Foster, Stanford University, Cal. 1899.

Prof. Frank Hamilton Fowler, University of Arizona, Tucson, Ariz. (University Station). 1893.

Prof. Harold North Fowler, College for Women of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. (2460 Overlook Road, Cleveland Heights). Life member. 1885.

Miss Susan Fowler, 420 W. 118th St., New York City. 1904.

Alexander Fox, c/o N. Y. and Honduras Rosario M. Co., San Juancito, Republic of Honduras (Via Puerto Cortés). 1927.

Pres. William Sherwood Fox, University of Western Ontario, London, Ont., Can. 1911.

Prof. James Everett Frame, Union Theological Seminary, New York City (3041 Broadway). 1921.

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*Prof. Tenney Frank, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. (Life member). 1906.
*Miss A. Mildred Franklin, Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pa. 1921.
*Miss M. Alison Frantz, 64 Battle Road, Princeton, N. J. 1925.
Prof. Alexander David Fraser, Alfred University, Alfred, N. Y. 1923.
Dr. Gladys Freed, Agnes Scott College, Decatur, Ga. 1927.
Dr. Walter Houghton Freeman, 170 E. 7th St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1908.
Norman Freudenberger, Southwest Missouri State Teachers' College, Springfield, Mo. 1922.
Prof. Charles Kelsey Gaines, St. Lawrence University, Canton, N. Y. 1890.
Prof. John S. Galbraith, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. (Life member). 1907.
Esson M. Gale, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1929.
Alexander B. Galt, 2219 California St., Washington, D. C. 1917.
*Prof. Caroline M. Galt, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1924.
Miss Helena M. Gamer, 5481 Greenwood Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1927.
Prof. Frank R. Gay, Bethany College, Bethany, W. Va. 1926.
*Prof. Russel Mortimer Geer, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1922.
Jacob Geerlings, Holland, Mich. (R. F. D. No. 9, Box 26). 1927.
Miss Laura F. Geiser, 8126 Apricot St., New Orleans, La. 1927.
Prof. John Lawrence Gerig, Columbia University, New York City. 1909.
Judge John Marshall Gest, 542 City Hall, Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
Walter Giesecke, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Cal. 1929.
Rev. Brother Giles, C.F.X., Ph.D., St. John's Preparatory School, Danvers, Mass. 1927.
Dr. Walter H. Gillespie, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1908.
Ginn and Company, 15 Ashburton Pl., Boston, Mass. (Life member). 1921.
Pres. Meta Glass, Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va. 1916.
Charles Bertie Gleason, High School, San José, Cal. (456 S. 2d St.). 1900.
*Clarence Willard Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass. 1901.
Prof. John Gray Glenn, Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, Pa. 1925.
Rev. Henry Glueckert, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Ind. 1927.
John William Glynn, Jr., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (10 Lionel Hall). 1923.
*Prof. A. E. Gobble, Albright College, Myerstown, Pa. 1921.
Francis R. B. Godolphin, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1926.
Prof. Philip Becker Goetz, University of Buffalo, Buffalo, N. Y. (63 Arlington Pl.). 1924.
Miss Jane Faulkner Goodloe, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. (Homewood Apts.). 1927.
*Sidney P. Goodrich, 167 Graduate College, Philadelphia, Pa. 1928.
Prof. Charles Jaques Goodwin, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa. (18 E. Church St.). 1891.
*Dr. Arthur E. Gordon, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1926.
Adolph Gorr, Davidson College, Davidson, N. C. 1925.
*Prof. Florence Alden Gragg, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. (234 Crescent St.). 1906.

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Miss E. Dorothy Graham, Tampico, Ill. 1928.

Prof. Charles Hall Grandgent, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (107 Walker St.). 1922.

Dr. Mary A. Grant, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. (1300 Louisiana St.). 1921.

†Dr. Mason De Witt Gray, East High School, Rochester, N. Y. 1923.

Dr. William D. Gray, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1907.

*Prof. Laura C. Green, Pennsylvania College for Women, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1928.

Theodore Francis Green, 1138 Hospital Trust Building, Providence, R. I. (Life member). 1920.

William McAllen Green, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2610 Grove St.). 1927.

*Prof. William Chase Greene, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (60 Shepard St.). Life member. 1915.

Rev. H. A. Grelis, O.S.A., Villanova College, Villanova, Pa. 1923.

Miss Gertrude E. Gretler, 1856 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1929.

Prof. William Richard Grey, Davidson College, Davidson, N. C. 1920.

*Elizabeth Grier, 141 Summer St., Malden, Mass. 1927.

Prof. Wren Jones Grinstead, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1924.

Prof. Alfred Gudeman, Franz Josefstrasse 12, Munich, Germany. 1889.

Prof. Charles Burton Gulick, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1894.

*Prof. Richard Mott Gummere, William Penn Charter School, School Lane, Germantown, Pa. 1907.

William E. Gwatkin, Jr., University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1923.

Prof. Roy Kenneth Hack, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. 1910.

*Moses Hadas, Elkridge, Red Bank, N. J. 1926.

Prof. George Depue Hadzsits, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1904.

Dean Patience Haggard, Alabama College, Montevallo, Ala. 1924.

*Prof. E. Adelaide Hahn, Hunter College, New York City (640 Riverside Drive). Life member. 1917.

*Prof. Elizabeth Hazelton Haight, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1902.

§Prof. William Gardner Hale, Shippan Point, Stamford, Conn. 1882.

Prof. Joseph Boyd Haley, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va. 1921.

*Dr. Clayton Morris Hall, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J. 1922.

*F. Russell Hamblin, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. 1922.

*Prof. Hollister Adelbert Hamilton, Elmira College, Elmira, N. Y. 1895.

*Jacob Hammer, Hunter College Annex, New York City (145 E. 32d St.). 1924.

John Calvin Hanna, State Supervisor of High Schools, Springfield, Ill. 1896.

Miss Hazel D. Hansen, 402 Tilton Ave., San Mateo, Cal. 1925.

Ralph W. Harbison, 1317 Farmers Bank Building, Pittsburgh, Pa. (Life member). 1921.

William Albert Harbison, 1317 Farmers Bank Building, Pittsburgh, Pa. (Life member). 1921.

† Died, October 30, 1928.

§ Died, June 23, 1928.

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*Prof. Caleb Richmond Harding, Davidson College, Davidson, N. C. 1919.
*Prof. James Penrose Harland, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. (Box 90). Life member. 1921.
*Prof. Austin Morris Harmon, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (363 Willow St.). 1907.
Dr. George McLean Harper, Jr., Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1921.
Prof. Gustave Adolphus Harrer, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. 1914.
Dr. Raymond Davis Harriman, Stanford University, Cal. (Box 913). 1916.
*Prof. Karl Pomeroy Harrington, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1892.
Prof. W. A. Harris, University of Richmond, Richmond, Va. 1895.
Pres. Fairfax Harrison, Belvoir, Fauquier Co., Va. (Life member). 1914.
Miss Curtis Hartshorne, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1929.
Prof. Walter Morris Hart, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2255 Piedmont Ave.). 1903.
Prof. K. Louise Hartt, Hunter College, New York City. 1922.
Prof. Floyd Clayton Harwood, Taft School, Watertown, Conn. 1919.
Dr. Harold Ripley Hastings, 146 W. Lanvale St., Baltimore, Md. 1905.
Dr. Edward Southworth Hawes, 155 Willow St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1888.
Paul R. Hays, Columbia University, New York City. 1928.
Edwin Humphrey Hazen, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (373 Crown St.). 1923.
Prof. Charles Baker Hedrick, Berkeley Divinity School, New Haven, Conn. 1913.
Prof. Edward Hoch Heffner, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1917.
*Prof. William Arthur Heidel, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. (136 High St.). 1900.
Sister M. Helen, College of Saint Teresa, Winona, Minn. 1923.
Dean Fred Burton Renney Hellems, University of Colorado, Boulder, Col. 1900.
*John Lewis Heller, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1928.
Prof. Otto Heller, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1896.
Prof. George Lincoln Hendrickson, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1892.
*Dr. Margaret Y. Henry, Franklin K. Lane High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. (275 Clinton Ave.). 1926.
Winfred C. Herrick, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. (Box 144, University Station). 1926.
Ernest L. Hettich, New York University, New York City (1381 Sterling Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.). 1929.
*Prof. Joseph William Hewitt, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. (Life member). 1905.
*Dr. Ernest L. Highbarger, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1923.
Dr. Bert Hodge Hill, 22 Regilla St., Athens, Greece (Life member). 1911.
Miss Helen Fairbanks Hill, 74 Hanks St., Lowell, Mass. (Life member). 1921.
Dr. Ida Thallon Hill (Mrs. B. H.), 22 Regilla St., Athens, Greece. 1915.

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Prof. Victor D. Hill, Ohio University, Athens, O. 1920.
*Prof. Robert H. Hiller, Wittenberg College, Springfield, O. (235 E. Madison Ave.). 1920.
George Walker Hinman, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. 1928.
*Prof. Gertrude M. Hirst, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York City. 1902.
L. S. Hitchcock, Los Alamos Ranch School, Otowi, N. M. 1926.
*Archibald L. Hodges, Wadleigh High School, 114th St., near 7th Ave., New York City. 1899.
Prof. Arthur Winfred Hodgman, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. (195 W. 11th Ave.). 1896.
*Prof. Charles Hoeing, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y. 1899.
Herbert B. Hoffleit, University of California at Los Angeles, Cal. 1926.
Dr. Rolf Hoffmann, 1141 Glen Arbor Ave., Los Angeles, Cal.
*Dr. Louise Adams Holland, 3715 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
Prof. J. Emory Hollingsworth, Washburn College, Topeka, Kan. (1934 Lane St.). 1921.
Prof. Urban Tigner Holmes, Jr., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. (Box 348). 1923.
Dr. Benjamin Clark Holtzclaw, Jr., 157 Crescent Ave., Macon, Ga. 1921.
Dr. Mary Trowbridge Honey (Mrs. E. E.), Albion College, Albion, Mich. 1922.
*Prof. W. D. Hooper, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga. 1894.
Clark Hopkins, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1925.
Mrs. Clark Hopkins, 548 Orange St., New Haven, Conn. 1924.
Prof. E. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (299 Lawrence St.). 1883.
*Prof. Robert Chisolm Horn, Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa. 1909.
John N. Hough, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. (Box 121). 1927.
Prof. Herbert Pierrepont Houghton, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn. 1907.
Prof. Joseph Henry Howard, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, S. D. (216 Pine St.). 1921.
Prof. George Howe, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. 1914.
Prof. Arthur W. Howes, Central High School, Philadelphia, Pa. 1918.
Dean George Edwin Howes, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. (Life member). 1896.
Clement L. Hrdlicka, St. Procopius College, Lisle, Ill. 1924.
Prof. Harry Mortimer Hubbell, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (464 Yale Ave.). 1911.
Prof. William Meredith Hugill, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Can. (Life member). 1924.
Prof. Milton Wylie Humphreys, University, Va. 1871.
Dr. George B. Hussey, Chilhowee St., Maryville, Tenn. 1887.
Prof. Mark Eastwood Hutchinson, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Ia. 1921.
*James Hutton, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1925.
Prin. Maurice Hutton, University College, Toronto, Can. 1908.
Prof. Walter Woodburn Hyde, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1911.

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James Fisher Irwin, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1927.
Prof. Anette Ives, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal. (1603 S. Marguerita St.). 1928.
Samuel Anthon Ives, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1929.
Dr. Leo V. Jacks, York, Neb. (Life member). 1923.
Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University, New York City. 1884.
*Prof. Carl Newell Jackson, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (25 Beck Hall). Life member. 1905.
Prof. Frederick John Foakes Jackson, Union Theological Seminary, New York City. 1929.
Prof. Thomas Atkinson Jenkins, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1921.
Dr. Richard Jente, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1922.
*George H. Jewett, 536 W. 111th St., New York City. 1927.
*Prof. Allan Chester Johnson, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1912.
Dr. Edwin Lee Johnson, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. (408 Fairfax Ave.). 1911.
Franklin Plotinus Johnson, Duke University, Durham, N. C. 1922.
*Prof. Harriet Dale Johnson, Judson College, Marion, Ala. 1920.
William H. Johnson, 710 Franklin Ave., Columbus, O. 1895.
*Prof. Eva Johnston, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1902.
Prof. Mary Johnston, Illinois Woman's College, Jacksonville, Ill. 1924.
Prof. Richard O. Jolliffe, Queen's University, Kingston, Ont., Can. 1920.
Miss Adalaide R. Jones, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. (5817 Rural St.). 1923.
Prof. Horace Leonard Jones, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1908.
Prof. Leslie Webber Jones, c/o C. O. Jones, Walker St., Lenox, Mass. 1926.
Prof. Richard Foster Jones, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1922.
Prof. Roger Miller Jones, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (990 Euclid Ave.). 1919.
Sister Miriam Judd, Webster College, Webster Groves, Mo. 1923.
Preston Henry Judd, Oak Lane Country Day School, Oak Lane, Philadelphia, Pa. 1928.
Mrs. Isabel Dean Kadison, 215 W. 94th St., New York City. 1929.
Albert Kahn, Marquette Building, Detroit, Mich. (Life member). 1924.
Edmund H. Kase, Jr., 7309 Boyer St., Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa. 1927.
*David Brown Kaufman, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (24 Graduate House). 1928.
Charles Zane Keim, 315 South Penn St., Wheeling, W. Va. 1929.
Prof. Arthur Leslie Keith, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, S. D. 1914.
Miss Ruth M. Keller, Chestnut Arms, 41st and Chestnut Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
*Prof. George Dwight Kellogg, Union College, Schenectady, N. Y. 1897.
Prof. Robert James Kellogg, Ottawa University, Ottawa, Kan. (415 S. Cedar St.). 1912.
Prof. John B. Kelso, College of Wooster, Wooster, O. 1923.
†Dr. Mary Jackson Kennedy, 1977 E. 97th St., Cleveland, O. 1924.

† Died, September 26, 1927.

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*Prof. Roland Grubb Kent, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (Life member). 1903.

Sir Frederic G. Kenyon, British Museum, London, W. C., England. 1925.

*M. V. Kern, Faculty Club, Amherst, Mass. 1922.

J. A. Kerns, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash. 1921.

Prof. Walter A. Kerr, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah. 1926.

Pres. David Martin Key, Millsaps College, Jackson, Miss. 1917.

*Prof. Clinton Walker Keyes, Columbia University, New York City (54 Morningside Drive, Apt. 41). 1914.

George Vincent Kidder, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. (206 Summit St.). 1926.

Prof. William E. Kirk, Willamette University, Salem, Or. (1450 State St.). 1920.

Prof. William Hamilton Kirk, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J. 1898.

Prof. Watson Kirkconnell, Wesley College, Winnipeg, Can. 1928.

*Prof. John Copeland Kirtland, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1895.

Prof. George Lyman Kittredge, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (8 Hilliard St.). 1884.

Prof. James A. Kleist, St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo. 1920.

Prof. Charles Knapp, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York City (1737 Sedgwick Ave.). 1892.

*Prof. Fred A. Knapp, Bates College, Lewiston, Me. 1920.

Richard Knowles, St. Mark's School, Southboro, Mass. 1925.

Hugo A. Koehler, 320 N. Union Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1923.

Elizabeth Knott, 1639 Touhy Ave., Rogers Park, Chicago, Ill. 1924.

William Charles Korfmacher, St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo. (4548 Alice Ave.). 1929.

*Prof. Casper John Kraemer, Jr., Washington Square College, New York University, New York City. 1922.

Prof. Anna Krause, University of California at Los Angeles, Cal. 1921.

*Franklin Brunell Krauss, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (318 Bennett Hall). 1922.

Prof. Paul E. Kretzmann, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo. (801 De Mun Ave.). 1923.

Joannes Ktenas, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (46 Irving St.). 1929.

Prof. Benjamin P. Kurtz, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (59 Santa Clara Ave., Oakland). 1923.

Pres. Melvin Grove Kyle, Xenia Theological Seminary, St. Louis, Mo. (6834 Washington Ave.). 1923.

Prof. Raymond Henry Lacey, Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill. (1205 W. College Ave.). 1915.

*Dean Gordon Jennings Laing, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1907.

Prof. A. G. Laird, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. (1824 Rowley Ave.). Life member. 1890.

Prof. Max Ludwig Wolfram Laistner, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (239 Goldwin Smith Hall). 1925.

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Dr. George A. Land, 47 Washington Park, Newtonville, Mass. 1914.
Henri Langlard, M.A., University of California (2808 Lakeshore Blvd., Oakland, Cal.). 1925.
Prof. Charles Rockwell Lanman, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (9 Farrar St.). 1877.
Roy H. Lanphear, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1929.
Lewis H. Lapham, 17 Battery Pl., New York City. 1880.
Joseph Lapidus, Fox Street Sta., P. O. Box 21, New York City. 1926.
Prof. Henry A. Lappin, D'Youville College, Buffalo, N. Y. (628 Delavan Ave.). 1922.
John F. Latimer, 445 Orange St., New Haven, Conn. 1928.
Richmond Lattimore, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. (126 Lincoln Hall). 1927.
Mrs. Cora Rolfe Laubscher, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va. 1925.
Miss Helen Hull Law, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1920.
Dr. Lillian B. Lawler, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. (212 W. 12th St.). 1921.
Dr. Arthur Gordner Leacock, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1899.
*Prof. Emory Bair Lease, College of the City of New York, New York City (Hudson View Gardens, Pinehurst Ave. and 183d St.). 1895.
Prof. David Russell Lee, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn. (505 Main Ave. W.). 1907.
Miss Sylvia Lee, The Ludlow, Copley Square, Boston, Mass. 1921.
Dr. Linwood Lehman, University of Virginia, University, Va. 1919.
Ernestine Franklin Leon (Mrs. H. J.), University of Texas, Austin, Tex. 1921.
*Prof. Harry Joshua Leon, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. 1922.
Sister Leona, College of Mt. St. Joseph, Mt. St. Joseph, O. 1928.
Dean Winfred George Leutner, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. 1905.
Prof. Mark Harvey Liddell, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Ind. (224 Waldron St.). 1923.
Clarence A. Lightner, 1603 Dime Bank Building, Detroit, Mich. (Life member). 1924.
Prof. Edward Y. Lindsay, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. (69 North Prospect St.). 1927.
Prof. Ivan M. Linforth, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (85 Tamalpais Road). 1903.
Prof. Herbert C. Lipscomb, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va. (Life member). 1909.
*Prof. Charles Edgar Little, Peabody College, Nashville, Tenn. 1902.
Miss Helen Archer Loane, Hammonton, N. J. 1925.
Alfred G. Lockitt, 381 Franklin Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1927.
Prof. Dean Putnam Lockwood, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1909.
Prof. Gonzalez Lodge, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City. 1888.
James Loeb, Landhaus "Hochried," Murnau a/ Staffelsee, Bavaria, Germany. 1913.

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*Prof. John Oscar Lofberg, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O. 1919.
Prof. Omera Floyd Long, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. (Life member). 1900.
Percy W. Long, G. & C. Merriam Co., Springfield, Mass. 1927.
Miss Elizabeth P. Longaker, Overbrook High School, Philadelphia, Pa. (1806 Spruce St.). 1925.
*Prof. Louis Eleazar Lord, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O. 1910.
Miss D. Aileen Lougee, Keuka College, Keuka Park, N. Y. 1923.
Elford Floyd Lounsbury, Westminster School, Simsbury, Conn. 1920.
Miss Dorothy Low, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1929.
*Dr. Clarence George Lowe, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. 1924.
Prof. John Livingston Lowes, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1916.
Winnie D. Lowrance, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (Women's Faculty Club). 1927.
Prof. Hugh S. Lowther, Occidental College, Los Angeles, Cal. 1927.
*Dr. Stephen Bleecker Luce, 267 Clarendon St., Boston, 17, Mass. (Life member). 1925.
Dean William Ludwig, Wagner College, Staten Island, N. Y. 1921.
*Dr. Katharine Lummis, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y. 1920.
Dr. F. B. Lund, 529 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. (Life member). 1921.
Dr. Elizabeth Perkins Lyders (Mrs.), 2429 Greene St., San Francisco, Cal. (Life member). 1904.
C. Arthur Lynch, 260 Point St., Providence, R. I. 1927.
Miss Caroline Vinia Lynch, 217 Norfolk St., Dorchester Centre, Boston, Mass. 1914.
Miss Eugenia M. Lynch, 10 Kathmere Rd., Brookline, Upper Darby, Pa. 1924.
Prof. Caro Lynn, Wheaton College, Norton, Mass. 1925.
*Prof. Janet M. Macdonald, Butler University, Indianapolis, Ind. (Apt. 10, The Butler, 5230 E. Washington St.). Life member. 1922.
Dr. Charles Macfarlane, The Bellevue-Stratford, Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.
Mrs. Isabella T. Machan, 155 Summit Ave., Decatur, Ill. 1921.
Prof. J. Gresham Machen, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. (Life member). 1923.
Dr. Alastair St. Clair Mackenzie, Room 1403, 11 E. 44th St., New York City (Life member). 1901.
Prof. W. R. Mackenzie, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1922.
Malcolm MacLaren, Jr., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1927.
Pres. George Edwin MacLean, 1721 P St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1891.
Dr. Robert Cecil MacMahon, 78 W. 55th St., New York City. 1921.
Prof. Grace Harriet Macurdy, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1894.
Dr. Anna Pearl MacVay, Wadleigh High School, New York City. 1918.
Prof. David Magie, Jr., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. (101 Library Pl.). Life member. 1901.
Prof. Joseph S. Magnuson, 8900 S. Main St., Los Angeles, Cal. 1920.
*Prof. Ralph Van Deman Magoffin, New York University, University Heights, New York City. 1908.
Dr. Herbert W. Magoun, 89 Hillcrest Rd., Belmont, Mass. 1891.

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A. G. C. Maitland, Washington Square College, New York University, New York City. 1929.

Prof. Kemp Malone, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. (Life member). 1925.

Miss Gertrude Malz, 1735 E. Hunting Park Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1925.

Raymond Mandra, Hunter College, New York, N. Y. (3414 105th St., Corona, L. I.). 1926.

Prof. John Matthews Manly, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1896.

Miss Euphemia M. Mann, Philadelphia High School for Girls, 17th and Spring Garden Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. (1022 Clinton St.). 1925.

Prof. Clarence Augustus Manning, Columbia University, New York City. 1915.

Prof. Richard Clarke Manning, Kenyon College, Gambier, O. 1905.

Prof. Frank Burr Marsh, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. (808 W. 22d St.). 1923.

Prof. Donnis Martin, Winthrop College, Rock Hill, S. C. 1927.

Prof. Ernest Whitney Martin, Stanford University, Cal. (525 Lincoln Ave., Palo Alto). 1923.

Prof. Gladys Martin, Mississippi State College for Women, Columbus, Miss. 1927.

Miss Ellen F. Mason, Rhode Island Ave., Newport, R. I. 1885.

Miles S. Masters, New York University, University Heights, New York City. 1924.

Dr. Maurice Whittemore Mather, 41 Dana Street, Cambridge, Mass. 1894.

Miss Mima Maxey, 5413 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1925.

Prof. William Maxwell, State Teachers College, Santa Barbara, Cal. 1926.

Mrs. Frederick A. May, 37 Park St., Canton, N. Y. 1925.

Paul Mayo, American Embassy, Brussels, Belgium (Dept. of State, Washington, D. C.). 1921.

Miss Barbara P. McCarthy, 30 Armington Ave., Providence, R. I. 1925.

Dr. Eugene Stock McCartney, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (1004 Angell Hall). Life member. 1920.

F. A. McCollum, Shady Side Academy, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1927.

Prof. Chester Charlton McCown, Director, American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, Palestine (Box 333). 1920.

George McCracken, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. (616 Parsons St.). 1927.

Prof. Nelson Glenn McCrea, Columbia University, New York City (Life member). 1890.

*Prof. Walton Brooks McDaniel, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (College Hall). 1901.

Walton Brooks McDaniel, 2d, New York University, Washington Sq., New York City. 1927.

Prof. J. H. McDaniels, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1871.

William F. McDonald, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (Goldwin Smith Hall). 1928.

Prof. Mary B. McElwain, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. (Gillett House). 1908.

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Calvin W. McEwan, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1928.
Prof. Ida Kruse McFarlane, University of Denver, Denver, Col. (Life member). 1921.
Prof. Donald McFayden, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1922.
Rev. Thomas J. McGourty, Catholic University, Brookland, D. C. 1923.
Rev. Paul J. McGraw, Sacred Heart Seminary, 2701 Chicago Blvd., Detroit, Mich. 1925.
Prof. Arthur Patch McKinlay, University of California at Los Angeles (1326 Lucile Ave.). 1913.
Miss Harriett E. McKinstry, Lake Erie College, Painesville, O. 1881.
Dr. Charlotte F. McLean, 277 S. Fourth St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1906.
*Prof. James Sugars McLemore, University of Chattanooga, Chattanooga, Tenn. 1912.
Prof. James A. McMillen, Librarian, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La. 1923.
*Prof. Ashton Waugh McWhorter, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn. 1909.
Robert L. McWhorter, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga. 1906.
*Prof. Thomas Means, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. (267 Maine St.). 1921.
*Prof. Bruno Meinecke, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (Angell Hall). 1921.
Miss Anna Cole Mellick, Brearley School, 60 E. 61st St., New York City. 1923.
Dean Clarence Whittlesey Mendell, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1908.
Prof. Frank Ivan Merchant, Iowa State Teachers College, Cedar Falls, Ia. (1927 College St.). Life member. 1898.
Dr. Benjamin Dean Meritt, 629 Forest Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich. (Life member). 1922.
Prof. Elmer Truesdell Merrill, 2760 La Puesta del Sol Rd., Santa Barbara, Cal. 1883.
Prof. William Augustus Merrill, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (826 Oxford St.). 1886.
Miss Ruth Ellis Messenger, Hunter College, New York City (640 Riverside Drive). 1920.
Prof. William Stuart Messer, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1915.
Prof. Charles A. Messner, State Teachers College, Buffalo, N. Y. 1927.
Eugene Meyer, Jr., 820 Fifth Ave., New York City (Life member). 1921.
*Dr. Truman Michelson, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. 1900.
*Pres. Charles Christopher Mierow, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Col. (24 College Pl.). 1909.
Prof. Herbert Edward Mierow, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Col. 1914.
*Prof. Alfred William Milden, University of Mississippi, University, Miss. 1903.
Dr. A. Bertha Miller, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1915.
*Prof. Charles William Emil Miller, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1892.

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Prof. Frank Justus Miller, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1920.
*Prof. Walter Miller, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1920.
Knower Mills, Loomis Institute, Windsor, Conn. 1919.
Prof. B. W. Mitchell, Central High School, Philadelphia, Pa. (4326 Pine St.). 1921.
Samuel Loomis Mohler, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. (520 State St.). Life member. 1921.
Mrs. A. O. Moore (Cecilia Baldwin McElroy), Highland Park, Ill. (Life member). 1914.
Dean Clifford Herschel Moore, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (112 Brattle St.). Life member. 1889.
Prof. Frank Gardner Moore, Columbia University, New York City. 1888.
Prof. P. G. Moorhead, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La. 1925.
Paul Elmer More, LL.D., 245 Nassau St., Princeton, N. J. 1896.
Prof. Edward Parmelee Morris, Saybrook, Conn. 1886.
Donald S. Morrow, 301 Nassau St., Princeton, N. J. 1928.
Dr. Virginia Moscrip, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y. 1927.
Dr. Nicholas Moseley, Albertus Magnus College, New Haven, Conn. 1921.
Prof. Lewis Freeman Mott, College of the City of New York, New York City. 1898.
Prof. James Frederick Mountford, University College, Aberystwyth, Wales. 1924.
*Prof. Clyde Murley, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. (Fisk Hall, 2). 1920.
Prof. Paul Murphy, College of Idaho, Caldwell, Idaho (1815 Filmore St.). 1923.
Prof. Augustus Taber Murray, 1019 Bryant St., Palo Alto, Cal. 1887.
Prof. Wilfred Pirt Mustard, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1892.
Ralph Neidig Myers, 132 Lawn Ave., Sellersville, Pa. 1928.
Dr. Walter Neidig Myers, Camden Senior High School, Camden, N. J. 1921.
Miss Elizabeth Frances Nammack, Wadleigh High School, 215 W. 114th St., New York City. 1922.
Prof. Louis Hastings Naylor, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. (Life member). 1927.
Dr. Mary Craig Needler, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. (Horton Club). 1926.
Prof. Royal C. Nemiah, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1919.
Dean K. P. R. Neville, University of Western Ontario, London, Can. 1902.
Prof. Charles B. Newcomer, 1376 27th St., Des Moines, Ia. (Life member). 1900.
Dr. Samuel Hart Newhall, Haverford School, Haverford, Pa. 1913.
*Prof. Eva May Newman, Franklin College, Franklin, Ind. (College Dormitory). 1922.
Prof. Edward Wilber Nichols, Dalhousie University, Halifax, N. S., Can. 1915.
John Bradford Nicholson, 1030 Broad St., Newark, N. J. 1918.
Dean Paul Nixon, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. 1907.
†Prof. Jonas O. Notestein, College of Wooster, Wooster, O. 1919.

† Died, June 15, 1928.

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Prof. Gilbert Norwood, University of Toronto, Toronto, Can. 1928.
Prof. Herbert Chester Nutting, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (Box 172). 1900.
Prof. Caroline H. Ober, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1914.
Prof. Ainsworth O'Brien-Moore, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (Life member). 1923.
Dr. Margaret Brown O'Connor, Marymount College, Salina, Kan. (Life member). 1916.
Merle Middleton Odgers, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (Office of Admissions). 1922.
Dr. Charles J. Ogden, 628 W. 114th St., New York City. 1909.
*Prof. Marbury Bladen Ogle, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. 1907.
*Raymond T. Ohl, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. (148 Cricket Ave., Ardmore, Pa.). 1924.
*Prof. C. H. Oldfather, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. 1919.
Prof. William Abbott Oldfather, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. (804 W. Green St.). 1908.
Prof. Samuel Grant Oliphant, Grove City College, Grove City, Pa. 1907.
Dr. John R. Oliver, Latrobe Apartments, Baltimore, Md. 1922.
Miss Mary L. Overocker, 74 S. Hamilton St., Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1924.
Prof. Eivion Owen, Bishop's College, Lennoxville, Que., Can. 1925.
Prof. William Henry Oxtoby, San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, Cal. 1914.
Prof. Walter Hobart Palmer, Branford, Conn. 1914.
†Henry Spackman Pancoast, Spring Lane, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.
Pres. Marian Edwards Park, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1921.
Milman Parry, Drake University, Des Moines, Ia. 1927.
Arthur Wellesley Parsons, 1215 Sacramento Ave., San Francisco, Cal. 1925.
Prof. George W. Paschal, Wake Forest College, Wake Forest, N. C. 1924.
Prof. Clarence Paschall, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2800 Derby St.). 1903.
Vernon Sennock L. Pate, New York State College of Agriculture, Ithaca, N. Y. 1929.
Prof. James Morton Paton, care of Morgan & Co., 14 Place Vendôme, Paris, France. 1887.
*Chancellor Emeritus John L. Patterson, University of Louisville, Louisville, Ky. (Life member). 1900.
Thomas Patterson, 1712 Oliver Building, Pittsburgh, Pa. (Life member). 1921.
Prof. Adolph Frederick Pauli, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1921.
Harry F. Payer, Mercantile Title Building, Cleveland, O. (Life member). 1921.
Dr. Mary Bradford Peaks, 165 Broadway, New York City (Life member). 1905.
Dr. Joseph Pearl, College of the City of New York, New York City. 1921.
*Miss Mary J. Pearl, Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va. 1927.
Pres. Arthur Stanley Pease, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1906.

† Died, March 25, 1928.

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Dr. William T. Peck, 48 Princeton Ave., Providence, R. I. 1920.
John C. Pellett, 68 Flat St., Brattleboro, Vt. 1924.
Prof. Daniel A. Penick, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. 1902.
Pres. Josiah Harmer Penniman, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (Life member). 1921.
Prof. Charles William Peppler, Duke University, Durham, N. C. 1899.
Prof. Paul Helie Périgord, University of California at Los Angeles, Cal. 1925.
Prof. Emma M. Perkins, College for Women of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. 1892.
*Prof. Ben Edwin Perry, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. (126 Lincoln Hall). 1920.
Prof. Edward Delavan Perry, Columbia University, New York City. 1882.
Mr. Lionel Denis Peterkin, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (41 Bowdoin St.). 1928.
*Prof. Walter Petersen, University of Florida, Gainesville, Fla. (750 Franklin St.). 1913.
Prof. Torsten Petersson, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2215 Marin Ave.). 1905.
*Prof. Clyde Pharr, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1912.
Henry Phillips, Jr., 324 Ostrom Ave., Syracuse, N. Y. 1927.
Mrs. Maria Teresa Piccirillo, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2626B Hillegas Ave.). 1926.
Prof. J. B. Pike, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. 1927.
Prof. Ann M. Pitman, 414 N. Henry St., Madison, Wis. 1921.
Maurice Platnauer, Brasenose College, Oxford, England. 1924.
George Arthur Plimpton, LL.D., 61 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1916.
Mrs. Mary B. Pollard, 24 Kingsbury Pl., St. Louis, Mo. 1923.
James Eugene Pooley, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. (323 College St.). 1928.
Prof. William Popper, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (529 The Alameda). 1925.
Prof. Chandler Rathfon Post, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1920.
Prof. Edwin Post, De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind. 1886.
*Prof. Levi Arnold Post, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1921.
Prof. Hubert McNeill Poteat, Wake Forest College, Wake Forest, N. C. 1911.
*Prof. Franklin Hazen Potter, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. 1898.
Henry Preble, 154 E. 91st St., New York City. 1882.
Prof. William Kelly Prentice, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. (Life member). 1895.
*Prof. Henry Washington Prescott, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1899.
Prof. Clifton Price, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1899.
John Paul Prichard, Washington & Jefferson College, Washington, Pa. 1925.
*Prof. Lester Marsh Prindle, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. (Life member). 1921.
*Miss Lucy E. Pritchard, Huntingdon, W. Va. (1100 6th Ave.). 1927.
Prof. Eduard Prokosch, New York University, University Heights, New York. 1923.

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James William Pugsley, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa (818 Linn St.). 1925.

G. Payn Quackenbos, College of the City of New York, New York City. 1929.

Prof. O. W. Qualley, Luther College, Decorah, Ia. 1926.

Mrs. Eliza G. Radeke, 92 Prospect St., Providence, R. I. (Life member). 1921.

*Prof. Robert Somerville Radford, Kenyon College, Gambier, O. 1900.

Prof. Max Radin, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2957 Buena Vista Way). 1921.

Prof. Edward Kennard Rand, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (107 Lakeview Ave.). Life member. 1902.

Prof. Charles Brewster Randolph, Clark University, Worcester, Mass. 1905.

Dr. Edwin Moore Rankin, P. O. Box 843, La Jolla, Cal. 1905.

William Merritt Read, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. (5514½ 11th Ave. N. E.). 1926.

Prof. Homer Franklin Rebert, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1924.

Miss Lydia Rebert, Collinwood High School, 1838 E. 101st St., Cleveland, O. 1924.

Prof. John W. Redd, Centre College, Danville, Ky. 1885.

*Miss Leonora Reilly, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1927.

Pres. Aurelia Henry Reinhardt, Mills College, Cal. 1924.

Miss Mary M. Rennoe, Knoxville College, Knoxville, Tenn. 1928.

Rev. Graham Reynolds, Catholic University, Washington, D. C. (1320 Monroe St., N. E.). 1923.

Prof. Horatio M. Reynolds, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (85 Trumbull St.). 1884.

Prof. Alexander Hamilton Rice, Boston University, Boston, Mass. 1909.

Miss Edith F. Rice, Kensington High School for Girls, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.

Prof. G. C. Richards, The College, Durham, Eng. 1927.

*John Francis Chatterton Richards, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1927.

Prof. Leon Josiah Richardson, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (111 Southampton Ave.). 1895.

Prof. Mary Lilias Richardson, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. (36 Bedford Terrace). 1917.

Prof. Ernest H. Riedel, Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans, La. 1908.

Prof. Ernst Riess, Hunter College, New York City. 1895.

Miss Laura C. Riffe, 513 Garrard St., Covington, Ky. 1925.

Miss Irene C. Ringwood, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. (301 Mill St.). 1922.

Alfred L. Ripley, Andover, Mass. (Life member). 1921.

Prof. Edmund Yard Robbins, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1895.

Dr. Frank Egleston Robbins, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (Life member). 1912.

Harley F. Roberts, Taft School, Watertown, Conn. 1921.

Prof. Archibald Thomas Robertson, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky. 1909.

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Dr. H. G. Robertson, Victoria College, University of Toronto, Toronto, Can. 1924.

Miss Ruth E. Robertson, De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind. (405 E. Washington St.). 1923.

Charles Alexander Robinson, Jr., Brown University, Providence, R. I. (63 Angell St.). 1922.

Prof. David Moore Robinson, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. (Life member). 1905.

*Prof. Florence H. Robinson, Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va. 1925.

Prof. Dwight Nelson Robinson, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O. 1911.

Dr. James J. Robinson, Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn. 1902.

*Prof. Rodney Potter Robinson, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. 1920.

Miss Dorothy M. Robothan, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (Green Hall). 1921.

Prof. Joseph C. Rockwell, Municipal University of Akron, Akron, O. 1896.

Miss Dorothy M. Roehm, 14056 Freeland Ave., Detroit, Mich. 1921.

Miss Myra Rogers, Newcomb College, New Orleans, La. 1922.

Dr. Robert Samuel Rogers, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. (219 Nassau St.). Life member. 1921.

Prof. John Carew Rolfe, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.

Dean Florence K. Root, College of Wooster, Wooster, O. 1919.

Miss Mabel V. Root, Catskill, N. Y. 1920.

Dr. Ruskin R. Rosborough, Duke University, Durham, N. C. (Box 503). 1920.

S. L. Millard Rosenberg, University of California at Los Angeles, Cal. 1923.

*Dean Clarence Frisbie Ross, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. 1902.

Prof. Michael Ivanovich Rostovtzeff, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (Box 1916, Yale Station). 1923.

Prof. A. M. Rovelstad, St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minn. 1921.

Miss Adele M. Roth, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Cal. 1922.

Franklin Dana Rowe, 367 Elm St., New Haven, Conn. 1928.

Prof. William T. Rowland, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1919.

Prof. August Rupp, College of the City of New York, New York City. 1902.

William Sener Rusk, Wells College, Aurora-on-Cayuga, N. Y. 1921.

Albert A. Ruskin, 69 Grammercy Court, Atlantic City, N. J. 1925.

Mrs. Frances Theresa Russell, Stanford University, Cal.

Miss Marie L. Russell, 145 E. 54th St., New York City. 1924.

Prof. P. W. Russell, Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C. 1920.

Miss Winifred L. Ruter, Hunter College, New York City. 1929.

Dr. Thomas De Coursey Ruth, care of F. S. Ruth & Co., 120 Broadway, New York City. 1914.

Prof. H. Osborne Ryder, Hamline University, St. Paul, Minn. 1922.

Prof. Frances E. Sabin, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City. 1920.

Prof. Julius Sachs, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City (The Belmont, 86th St. and Broadway). 1875.

*Prof. Evan T. Sage, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. (247 Lothrop St.). Life member. 1912.

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Leo Erval Alexandre Saidla, Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1929.

Dr. John Sampson, Librarian, University of Liverpool, Liverpool, England. 1925.

*Prof. Henry Arthur Sanders, Accademia Americana, Porta San Pancrazio, Rome, Italy (Life member). 1899.

Shipp Gillespie Sanders, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. (Life member). 1928.

Prof. Eva Matthews Sanford, College for Women of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. 1924.

Fred Santee, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa. (215 W. Broad St.). 1928.

Henry B. Sargent, 247 Church St., New Haven, Conn. (Life member). 1921.

Dr. Rachel Louisa Sargent, North Central College, Naperville, Ill. 1923.

Lt. Col. Winthrop Sargent, Jr., Haverford, Pa. 1909.

*Prof. Catharine Saunders, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. (Life member). 1900.

Prof. Kenneth J. Saunders, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Cal. 1924.

Dr. John Joseph Savage, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1925.

*Prof. John Alexander Sawhill, State Teachers College, Harrisonburg, Va. 1921.

Lauriston Livingston Scaife, 173 Milton Ave., Milton, Mass. 1929.

Prof. John Nevin Schaeffer, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. 1921.

Prof. Felix Emanuel Schelling, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (Hamilton Court, 39th and Chestnut Sts.). 1921.

*Prof. Hugo Karl Schilling, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (822 Mendocino Ave.). 1920.

*Alfred Cary Schlesinger, Box 804, Williamstown, Mass. 1922.

Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1914.

Ellis Schnabel, North East High School, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.

*Prof. D. T. Schoonover, Marietta College, Marietta, O. 1912.

Miss Dorothy M. Schullian, 15415 Lake Ave., Lakewood, O. 1928.

†J. T. Schultz, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1925.

Henry Butler Schwartz, Dept. of Public Instruction, T. H., Honolulu, T. H. 1924.

Dr. Gilbert Campbell Scoggin, The Gennadeion, American School, Athens, Greece. 1924.

Dr. Charles Payson Gurley Scott, 49 Arthur St., Yonkers, N. Y. 1880.

Prof. Ernest Findlay Scott, Union Theological Seminary, New York City. 1928.

Prof. Harry Fletcher Scott, Ohio University, Athens, O. 1921.

Miss Inez G. Scott, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1926.

Prof. John Adams Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. (1958 Sheridan Rd.). 1898.

C. Randolph J. Scott, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1924.

Prof. Kenneth Scott, New Haven, Conn. (516 Orange St.). Life member. 1923.

† Died, April, 1928.

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Oreon E. Scott, 800 Chestnut St., St. Louis, Mo. 1923.
Prof. Henry S. Scribner, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. (1045 Murray Hill Ave.). Life member. 1889.
Charles F. T. Seaverns, Hartford Public High School, Hartford, Conn. (1265 Asylum Ave.). Life member. 1927.
Miss Laura Seguine, West Philadelphia High School for Girls, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
Prof. Edward H. Sehrt, George Washington University, Washington, D. C. (1844 Columbia Rd., N. W.). 1927.
Dr. Lewis L. Sell, Columbia University, New York City (15 Park Row). 1916.
*Prof. William Tunstall Semple, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. (315 Pike St.). Life member. 1910.
Prof. Robert F. Seybolt, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. (Life member). 1928.
Mabel Shaffer, 120 Rebecca St., Kittanning, Pa. 1928.
*Dr. T. Leslie Shear, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. (Battle Road). Life member. 1906.
Prof. Emeritus Caroline Sheldon, Litt.D., 92 Market St., Potsdam, N. Y. 1922.
Prof. Henry Vogel Shelley, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va. 1919.
Joseph Shendell, Society of the Divine Word, Techny, Ill. 1925.
C. Sidney Shepard, New Haven, N. Y. (Life member). 1921.
Prof. William Pierce Shepard, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1922.
Miss Helen McNeely Sheriff, Shreve High School, Martin's Ferry, O. (309 Lincoln Ave., Cadiz, O.). 1925.
Charles Lawton Sherman, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1921.
Prof. L. R. Shero, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. (Life member). 1921.
Dr. Alexander Shewan, Seagate, St. Andrews, Fife, Scotland. 1924.
George W. H. Shield, 1537 W. 46th St., Los Angeles, Cal. 1925.
Dr. Emily L. Shields, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. (36 Bedford Terrace). 1909.
*Prof. Frederick William Shipley, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1900.
Prof. Paul Shorey, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.
Prof. Grant Showerman, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. (410 N. Butler St.). 1900.
Prof. Thomas K. Sidey, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1914.
Dr. Ernest Gottlieb Sihler, Professor Emeritus, New York University, University Heights, New York City (252 S. 6th Ave., Mt. Vernon, N. Y.). 1876.
Edmund Taite Silk, 75 Autumn St., New Haven, Conn.
Pres. Kenneth Charles Morton Sills, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. 1906.
Miss Adelaide Douglas Simpson, University of Virginia, University, Va. 1919.
Prof. Charles Newton Smiley, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn. 1907.
Miss Elizabeth F. Smiley, 5610 Dorchester Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1922.
Prof. Charles Forster Smith, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. (16th and Main Sts., Racine, Wis.). 1883.

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Charles Huntington Smith, Deerfield Academy, Deerfield, Mass. 1919.
Prof. Charles S. Smith, George Washington University, Washington, D. C. 1895.
Prof. E. Marion Smith, Hollins College, Hollins, Va. 1924.
*Dr. Gertrude E. Smith, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1922.
Prof. Harry de Forest Smith, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1899.
Prof. Henry Roy William Smith, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (436 Wheeler Hall). 1925.
Prof. Kendall Kerfoot Smith, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1910.
*Prof. Lillian S. Smith, Agnes Scott College, Decatur, Ga. 1919.
Dr. Maria Wilkins Smith, 1527 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1923.
Dr. Nellie Angel Smith, West Tennessee State Teachers College, Memphis, Tenn. 1926.
Prof. Reuben Valentine Smith, 409 Parkview Ave., Columbus, O. 1923.
*Prof. Stanley Barney Smith, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. 1921.
*Dr. William Fletcher Smith, University of Ohio, Columbus, O. (Hayes Hall). 1922.
Prof. Herbert Weir Smyth, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (15 Elmwood Ave.). Life member. 1886.
†Prof. Thomas Henry Sonnedecker, Heidelberg University, Tiffin, O. 1919.
H. D. B. Soulé, 1020 Broadway, San Francisco, Cal. 1927.
Prof. John William Spaeth, Jr., Brown University, Providence, R. I. (Life member). 1923.
Mrs. Augusta de Laguna Spaulding, 720 20th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1921.
Prof. Floyd A. Spencer, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. 1922.
Pres. William Gear Spencer, Hillsdale College, Hillsdale, Mich. 1921.
Miss Mignonette Spilman, 2716 Haste St., Berkeley, Cal. 1927.
Miss Evelyn Spring, Baldwin School, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1917.
Dr. Sidney G. Stacey, Erasmus Hall High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. (177 Woodruff Ave.). 1901.
Dr. Martha Stansfield, Agnes Scott College, Decatur, Ga. 1926.
Lillian de Blois Starr, Elmira College, Elmira, N. Y.
Dr. Ida L. Stauf, Stanford University, Cal. (Box 292, Palo Alto). 1924.
John Barker Stearns, Hanover, N. H. (4 College St.). 1922.
Thomas B. Steel, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (Box 222). 1925.
Prof. R. B. Steele, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. (101 24th Ave. S.). Life member. 1893.
Prof. Rufus T. Stephenson, De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind. 1910.
Prof. James Sterenberg, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill. 1910.
Prof. M. W. Sterling, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. (1129 Louisiana St.). 1923.
Henry G. Stevens, Detroit, Mich. (316 E. Jefferson St.). Life member. 1925.
Miss Lavina Stewart, Connecticut College Library, New London, Conn. 1929.
Prof. Manson A. Stewart, Yankton College, Yankton, S. D. 1909.

† Died, May 29, 1928.

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*James Stinchcomb, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1927.
Rev. William M. Stinson, Boston College, Boston, Mass. (Chestnut Hill, 67). 1923.
Prof. Alvin H. M. Stonecipher, Indiana Central College, Indianapolis, Ind. 1914.
Dean Selatie Edgar Stout, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 1915.
Dr. Robert P. Strickler, Southwestern University, Memphis, Tenn. 1911.
Eugene H. Strittmatter, Columbia University, New York City (325 34th St., Woodcliff-on-Hudson, N. Y.). 1922.
Dr. Mildred C. Struble, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal. 1923.
Prof. Duane Reed Stuart, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1901.
Meriwether Stuart, Hunter College, New York City (145 E. 32d St.). 1929.
Harold J. Stukey, Deep Springs, Cal. 1926.
Miss Frances Sturgess, 326 N. 6th St., Vandalia, Ill. 1925.
*Mrs. Anne B. B. Sturgis, 131 Forest St., Oberlin, O. 1920.
S. Warren Sturgis, Groton, Mass. 1921.
Prof. Albert Morey Sturtevant, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. (924 Louisiana St.). 1922.
*Prof. Edgar Howard Sturtevant, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (Box 1849, Yale Station). Life member. 1901.
*Prof. Rollin Harvelle Tanner, New York University, University Heights, New York City (Life member). 1911.
Rt. Rev. John J. Tannrath, 4371 Lindell Blvd., St. Louis, Mo. (Life member). 1923.
Prof. Helen H. Tanzer, Hunter College, New York City (208 E. 15th St.). Life member. 1910.
Miss Elizabeth Tappan, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1923.
*Prof. John Strong Perry Tatlock, 1994 San Antonio St., Berkeley, Cal. 1915.
Meaburn Talbot Tatham, Northcourt House, Abingdon, Berks, England. 1924.
*Prof. Eugene Tavenner, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. (McMillan Hall). 1912.
Gilbert H. Taylor, Westminster College, New Wilmington, Pa. 1922.
Dr. John Wilson Taylor, 322 Parkwood Ave., Kenmore, N. Y. 1919.
*Prof. Lily Ross Taylor, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. (Life member). 1912.
Miss Margaret E. Taylor, 128 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn. 1926.
R. W. D. Taylor, Woodberry Forest School, Woodberry Forest, Va. 1927.
Ernest Hall Templin, University of California at Los Angeles, Cal. 1928.
Dean Ruby R. Terrill, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1928.
Prof. Susan D. Tew, Newcomb College, Tulane University, New Orleans, La. 1919.
Miss M. Carey Thomas, The Deanery, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1921.
Miss Ruth Thomas, East Tennessee State Teachers College, Johnson City, Tenn. 1927.
Prof. Clara Louise Thompson, Shorter College, Rome, Ga. 1920.
Homer Armstrong Thompson, 1820 Hill St., Ann Arbor, Mich. 1929.

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Dean David Thomson, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1902.
*Prof. George Reeves Throop, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1907.
Dr. Charles H. Thurber, 15 Ashburton Pl., Boston, Mass. 1901.
Dr. John Bradford Titchener, Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass. (1648 Massachusetts Ave.). Life member. 1923.
Prof. Otis Johnson Todd, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B. C., Can. 1923.
Miss Lena B. Tomson, Milwaukee-Downer College, Milwaukee, Wis. (Life member). 1921.
Prof. Catherine Torrance, Agnes Scott College, Decatur, Ga. 1920.
Prescott Winson Townsend, University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind. 1925.
Dr. Hermann Lloyd Tracy, Queen's University, Kingston, Ont., Can. 1924.
Prof. Harold H. Tryon, Union Theological Seminary, New York City. 1928.
Miss Elizabeth McJimsey Tyng, 1260 Emerson St., Palo Alto, Cal. 1916.
*Prof. Berthold Louis Ullman, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (Life member). 1910.
Prof. Harry Brown Van Deventer, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1907.
Prof. Justin Loomis Van Gundy, Monmouth College, Monmouth, Ill. 1920.
*Prof. Henry Bartlett Van Hoesen, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1909.
*Prof. La Rue Van Hook, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York City. 1905.
Miss Linda Van Norden, 329 Lincoln Ave., Palo Alto, Cal. 1928.
Miss Susan E. Van Wert, Hunter High School, New York City (316 W. 112th St.). 1914.
Prof. Agnes Carr Vaughan, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. (Northrup House). 1917.
Prof. N. P. Vlachos, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
†J. Homer Wade, 3903 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, O. (Life member). 1921.
Prof. Anthony Pelzer Wagener, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va. 1911.
Prof. William Henry Wait, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1893.
Dr. John William Henry Walden, 7 Irving Terrace, Cambridge, Mass. 1889.
G. Byron Waldrop, Shadyside Academy, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1921.
Prof. Arthur Tappan Walker, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. 1895.
Dr. Louisa Viola Walker, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. (P. O. Box 34). 1925.
Sherman Le Roy Wallace, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O. 1925.
Prof. John Stephen Walsh, University of New Hampshire, Durham, N. H. 1922.
Prof. Alice Walton, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1894.
James R. Ware, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. (Life member). 1921.
Miss Florence Waterman, Winsor School, Boston, Mass. 1921.
Prof. John Calvin Watson, 7209½ Merrill Ave., Windsor Park, Chicago, Ill. 1902.

† Died, March 6, 1928.

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Prof. Robert Henning Webb, University of Virginia, University, Va. 1909.
Prof. Hermann J. Weber, Berkeley, Cal. (1811 La Loma Ave.). 1913.
Prof. Shirley Howard Weber, 106 Broadmead, Princeton, N. J. 1914.
Harry E. Wedeck, 879 E. 37th St., New York City. 1928.
Charles Bradford Welles, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (1422 Yale Station). 1928.
*Dr. Allen Brown West, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. 1926.
Dean Andrew Fleming West, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1886.
Louis C. West, 1250 Union Trust Building, Cleveland, O. (Life member). 1921.
H. Theodoric Westbrook, Columbia University, New York City (Hamilton Hall). 1925.
Prof. John R. Westbrook, Westminster College, Fulton, Mo. 1923.
Prof. John Howell Westcott, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1891.
Prof. William Linn Westermann, Columbia University, New York City (Fayerweather Hall). 1924.
Prof. Arthur Harold Weston, Lawrence College, Appleton, Wis. (738 E. John St.). 1915.
Prof. Monroe Nichols Wetmore, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. (Life member). 1906.
H. R. Wezeman, 1111 W. Huron St., Ann Arbor, Mich. 1929.
Prof. Joshua Whatmough, Harvard University, B 11, Morris Hall, Soldiers' Field Station, Boston, Mass. 1926.
Prof. Arthur Leslie Wheeler, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. (138 Jefferson Rd.). 1899.
Benjamin Webb Wheeler, 1032 Church St., Ann Arbor, Mich. 1920.
Prof. George Meason Whicher, Amherst, Mass. 1891.
Dr. Andrew C. White, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (424 Dryden Road). 1886.
Miss Edna White, Wm. L. Dickinson High School, Jersey City, N. J. 1929.
Howell North White, Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn. 1921.
Prof. John B. White, Route 1, Box 45A, Orlando, Fla. 1920.
†John G. White, 1565 Union Trust Building, Cleveland, Ohio. 1922.
Prof. Raymond H. White, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt. 1911.
Dr. Philip Barrows Whitehead, Clarendon, Vt. 1920.
Miss Mabel K. Whiteside, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va. (Life member). 1906.
Prof. Edward Arthur Wicher, San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, Cal. (18 Kensington Road). 1906.
Dr. Carol VanBuren Wight, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1923.
Dr. Alfred Reynolds Wightman, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. (86 Front St.). 1920.
Prof. Henry Daniel Wild, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. (Life member). 1898.
Prof. Eliza G. Wilkins, 519 Elm St., Frederick, Md. 1917.
Mrs. Caroline Ransom Williams, Chesbrough Dwellings, Toledo, O. 1922.
Prof. Margaret Ann Williams, Franklin College, Franklin, Ind. 1928.

† Died, August 27, 1928.

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Prof. Mary G. Williams, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1899.
E. R. B. Willis, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1914.
Dr. Gwendolen B. Willis, Bryn Mawr School, Baltimore, Md. 1906.
*Miss Ortha L. Wilner, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (Faculty Ex. 241). 1927.
Miss Lillian M. Wilson, 5464 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1922.
Prof. Margaret B. Wilson, Hunter College, New York City (Life member). 1921.
Miss Minnie Louise Wilson, 3 Piper Building, Cincinnati, O. 1925.
Dr. Pearl Cleveland Wilson, Hunter College, New York City (65 Morningside Ave.). 1919.
Prof. William Jerome Wilson, State Normal School, Cheney, Wash. 1918.
Prof. Herbert Wing, Jr., Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. (429 W. South St.). 1915.
Prof. John Garrett Winter, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (Life member). 1906.
Miss Ruth Witherstine, University of Buffalo, Buffalo, N. Y. 1922.
H. Rey Wolf, South Philadelphia High School for Boys, Philadelphia, Pa. (16 School Lane, Ardmore). 1921.
Prof. William Dudley Woodhead, McGill University, Montreal, Can. 1920.
Prof. Willis Patten Woodman, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. (808 Main St.). Life member. 1901.
Miss Lillian Allen Woodruff, 31 Park St., Ashtabula, O. 1925.
Prof. James Haughton Woods, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (16 Prescott Hall). 1923.
Miss Eunice Work, Wheaton College, Norton, Mass. 1926.
*Prof. Frederick Warren Wright, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1910.
*Dr. Horace Wetherill Wright, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa. 1918.
†John Max Wulfing, 3448 Longfellow Blvd., St. Louis, Mo. 1923.
Prof. William Frank Wyatt, 21 Chetwynd Rd., West Somerville, Mass. 1915.
Prof. Herbert Hilarion Yeames, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1906.
Mrs. Helen D. Yetter, Perrenoud Apartments, Denver, Col. (Life member). 1921.
Arthur Milton Young, 35 Conant Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1923.
Prof. Clarence Hoffman Young, Columbia University, New York City (312 W. 88th St.). 1890.
Dr. Charles Hamline Zimmerman, 155 Elm St., New Haven, Conn. 1920.

Living members in the above list, 1056

† Died, January 28, 1929.

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CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION[1]

Article I.—Name and Object

1. This Society shall be known as "The American Philological Association."

2. Its object shall be the advancement and diffusion of philological knowledge.

Article II.—Officers

1. The officers shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and Curator, and a Treasurer.

2. There shall be an Executive Committee of twelve, composed of the above officers and seven other members of the Association.

3. All the above officers shall be elected at the last session of each annual meeting.

4. An Assistant Secretary, and an Assistant Treasurer, may be elected at the first session of each annual meeting, on the nomination of the Secretary and the Treasurer respectively.

Article III.—Meetings

1. There shall be an annual meeting of the Association in the city of New York, or at such other place as at a preceding annual meeting shall be determined upon.

2. At the annual meeting, the Executive Committee shall present an annual report of the progress of the Association.

3. The general arrangements of the proceedings of the annual meeting shall be directed by the Executive Committee.

4. Special meetings may be held at the call of the Executive Committee, when and where they may decide.

Article IV.—Members

1. Any lover of philological studies may become a member of the Association by a vote of the Executive Committee and the payment of five dollars as initiation fee, which initiation fee shall be considered the first regular annual fee.

2. There shall be an annual fee of four dollars from each member, failure in payment of which for two years shall *ipso facto* cause the membership to cease.

3. Any person may become a life member of the Association by the payment of fifty dollars to its treasury, and by vote of the Executive Committee.

[1] As amended December 31, 1925.

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ARTICLE V.—SUNDRIES

1. All papers intended to be read before the Association must be submitted to the Executive Committee before reading, and their decision regarding such papers shall be final.

2. Publications of the Association, of whatever kind, shall be made only under the authorization of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VI.—AMENDMENTS

Amendments to this Constitution may be made by a vote of two-thirds of those present at any regular meeting subsequent to that in which they have been proposed.

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COMMITTEES AND BUSINESS MATTERS

1. NOMINATING COMMITTEE, established July 8, 1903 (XXXIV, xix, xlvi). One member retires each year after five years of service, and is replaced by a successor named by the President of the Association. The present membership of the committee is as follows:—

Edward Kennard Rand.
Samuel Eliot Bassett.
Gordon Jennings Laing.
Henry Rushton Fairclough.
Frank Cole Babbitt.

2. PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST. The present terms of affiliation between this Association and the American Philological Association are defined in the articles of agreement adopted by the two Associations in December, 1916 (XLVII, xi f.), and November, 1917 (XLVIII, xiv), respectively. The amount per member paid to the American Philological Association is $3.33.

3. SALARY OF THE SECRETARY AND TREASURER. In December, 1923, the Association voted that the salary of the Secretary and Treasurer be fixed at $750, to include any outlay for clerical help; and that the expenses of the Secretary in attending the annual meeting be paid by the Association (LIV, xiii).

4. PUBLICATION. By vote of the Association (December, 1919) the publication of the annual volume was put in charge of the Secretary (L, xi).

5. LIFE MEMBERSHIPS. On December 31, 1914, it was voted by the Association that the Treasurer be instructed to fund all sums received for life memberships (XLV, xiv).

6. By vote of the Association (December 28, 1918), no member is entitled to receive the annual volume unless he has paid the dues for the year for which the volume is issued (XLIX, vii).

7. AMERICAN CLASSICAL LEAGUE. By vote of the Association (XLIX, viii; LIV, xiii), the Executive Committee appoints annually a delegate to the Council of the American Classical League. The delegate for 1929 is John Edmund Barss.

8. AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES. On December 31, 1919, the Association declared its adherence to the American Council of Learned Societies, which represents North America as a member of the Union Académique Internationale (L, ix–x). The delegates of the Association to the Council are William Kelly Prentice and Walton Brooks McDaniel.

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On January 26, 1929, the membership of the Council was increased to seventeen by the admission of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, and of the Bibliographical Society of America. The offices of the Council are at 907 Fifteenth Street, Washington, D. C., in charge of Mr. Waldo G. Leland as Permanent Secretary.

Among the activities approved or supported by the Council and of interest to the members of the American Philological Association are (1) the Survey of Learned Societies which is being completed rapidly. (2) The Survey of Research in Humanistic and Social Sciences by Professor F. A. Ogg which was published by the Century Company early in 1928. (3) The Dictionary of American Biography of which the first two volumes have appeared. (4) A list of the Serial Publications of Foreign Governments, being compiled under the direction of an editorial committee whose chairman is Professor J. T. Gerould: the first list, covering Latin America, appeared in January, 1929. (5) The Committee on a Catalogue of Foreign MSS in American Depositories has as yet no funds. (6) The Committee on Research in the American Indian Languages is making progress; the Carnegie Corporation granted ten thousand dollars a year for five years for this work. (7) Under the direction of the Committee on Linguistic and National Stocks in the Population of the United States, work is being conducted by means of a grant of ten thousand dollars from Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. (8) The Committee on Aid to Research makes grant to scholars from the Council's fund of five thousand dollars given by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation. (9) The Survey of Current Bibliography proposed to the International Union of Academies (the U. A. I.) by the American Council of Learned Societies and adopted by the international body has been carried on during the year. (10) The Council has appointed an American Committee on Indonesian Customary Law to cooperate with the committee representing other countries. (11) The Committee on the Dictionary of Mediaeval Latin and on the Dictionary of Late Mediaeval British Latin reports progress. (12) A Dictionary of Middle English is being prepared under the editorship of Clark S. Northup of Cornell University. It is endorsed by the Council, which is now assisting the Modern Language Association in the effort to secure necessary funds. (13) A second conference on Chinese Studies was held with the American Oriental Society on April 3, 1929. Bulletin No. 10, issued in April, 1929, is devoted to the promotion of Chinese Studies.

The American Council of Learned Societies has made grants in aid of research to the following members of the American Philological Association: LeRoy Carr Barret, professor of Latin in Trinity College, Hartford, for purchase of a photozinc copy of a MS. of the *Atharva Veda Paippalada* in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; George Depue Hadzsits, professor of Latin in the University of Pennsylvania, for secretarial assistance in preparing the manuscript of his book on the *History of Roman Religion to Augustus;* Clarence George Lowe, professor of Classics in the University of Nebraska, for purchase of facsimiles and transcriptions of manuscript materials relating to Theodorus Metochites; Evan T. Sage, professor of Latin in the University of Pittsburgh, for expenses of photographing and collating the various MSS. of the *Satiricon* of Petronius, in an effort to establish a definitive

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edition; Gertrude Elizabeth Smith, assistant professor of Greek in the University of Chicago, for secretarial assistance in preparing for press the manuscript of her book, *Administration of Justice from Homer to Demosthenes;* William Jerome Wilson, professor in the department of language and literature, State Normal School, Cheney, Wash., for expenses of travel to Cambridge, Mass., to continue work on an edition of the astrological and alchemical *Hermetica.*

9. ENDOWMENT. The endowment committee, established December 31, 1919 (L, xi), is constituted as follows:

G. A. Plimpton { *Chairman,* / *Treasurer.*	Professor John M. Manly.
	Dean Clifford H. Moore.
Professor J. W. Hewitt, *Secretary.*	Professor Frank G. Moore.
Dr. Arthur Fairbanks.	Dr. Paul Elmer More.
Professor G. L. Hendrickson.	Professor John C. Rolfe.
Principal Maurice Hutton.	Professor Paul Shorey.

Professor Herbert Weir Smyth.

The regulations governing the use and management of the endowment fund, as adopted by the Association, are found in Vol. LIII, p. xii.

10. Abstracts published in the *Proceedings* are limited by vote of the Association (December 31, 1919) to 300 words in length (L, xi).

11. COMMITTEE ON AN INTERNATIONAL AUXILIARY LANGUAGE, appointed December 30, 1920 (LI, xii):

Professor W. A. Oldfather.	Professor Dean P. Lockwood.
Professor Carl D. Buck.	Dean Clarence W. Mendell.
Professor Roland G. Kent.	Professor H. P. Nutting.

Professor L. J. Paetow.

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION

The annually published *Transactions* of the American Philological Association give the full text of such papers as the Executive Committee decides to publish.

The annually published *Proceedings* contain the program and minutes of the annual meeting, brief abstracts of papers read, a record of the publications of members of the Association, lists of its officers and members, brief notes of its most important committees and business matters, and information regarding its publications.

The *Transactions* and *Proceedings* are issued in a single volume. The *Transactions* are not published separately; a few separate copies of the *Proceedings* are available each year.

For the contents of the *Transactions*, Volumes I–XXXIV inclusive, see Volume XXXIV, pp. cxliii ff.; for XXXV–XLVII, Volume XLVII, pp. lxxxviii ff. The contents of Volumes XLVIII–LVIII are as follows:

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Stuart, D. R.: Petrarch's indebtedness to the *libellus* of Catullus.

Moore, C. H.: The decay of nationalism under the Roman Empire.

Hewitt, J. W.: Some aspects of the treatment of ingratitude in Greek and English literature.

Sturtevant, E. H.: *Tenuis* and *media*.

Bradley, C. B.: The history of the Sukhōthai letters.

Carnoy, A. J.: The predicating sentence.

Bassett, S. E.: The hephthemimeral caesura in Greek hexameter poetry.

Ullman, B. L.: Horace on the nature of satire.

Lanman, C. R.: Hindu ascetics and their powers.

Proceedings of the forty-ninth annual meeting, Philadelphia, Pa., 1917.

Proceedings of the nineteenth annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, Cal., 1917.

1918—Volume XLIX

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Flickinger, R. C.: The accusative of exclamation: Lucretius to Ovid.

Bassett, S. E.: The suitors of Penelope.

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Bourne, Ella: Augustus as a letter-writer.
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Proceedings of the fiftieth annual meeting, New York, N. Y., 1918.
Proceedings of the twentieth annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, Cal., 1918.

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Proceedings of the fifty-first annual meeting, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1919.
Proceedings of the twenty-first annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, Cal., 1919.
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Tanner, R. H.: The Ἀρχίλοχοι of Cratinus and Callias ὁ λακκόπλουτος.
Proceedings of the fifty-second annual meeting, Baltimore, Md., 1920.

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Proceedings of the twenty-second annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, Cal., 1920.

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The price of these volumes, bound in paper, is $2.00 apiece, except Volumes XV, XX, XXIII, XXXII, XXXVI, XL, XLI, and XLIII–XLIX, for which $2.50 is charged, Volumes L–LVI, the price of which is $3.00, and Volumes LVII–LIX, the price of which is $3.50. Where the cloth binding is ordered, fifty cents per volume must be added to the above prices. Volumes V, VI, and VII are out of print. A charge of fifty cents per copy is made for reprints of the indices to Volumes XXXI–XL; and seventy-five cents for the indices to Volumes XLI–L.

Odd volumes will be bound by the Lancaster Press, Inc., Lancaster, Pa., at a price to be quoted upon application.

Orders for the publications of the Association should be sent to the Secretary, Professor Joseph William Hewitt, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut. For prices, see above.

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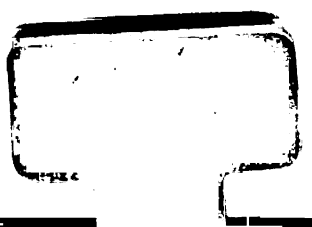

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